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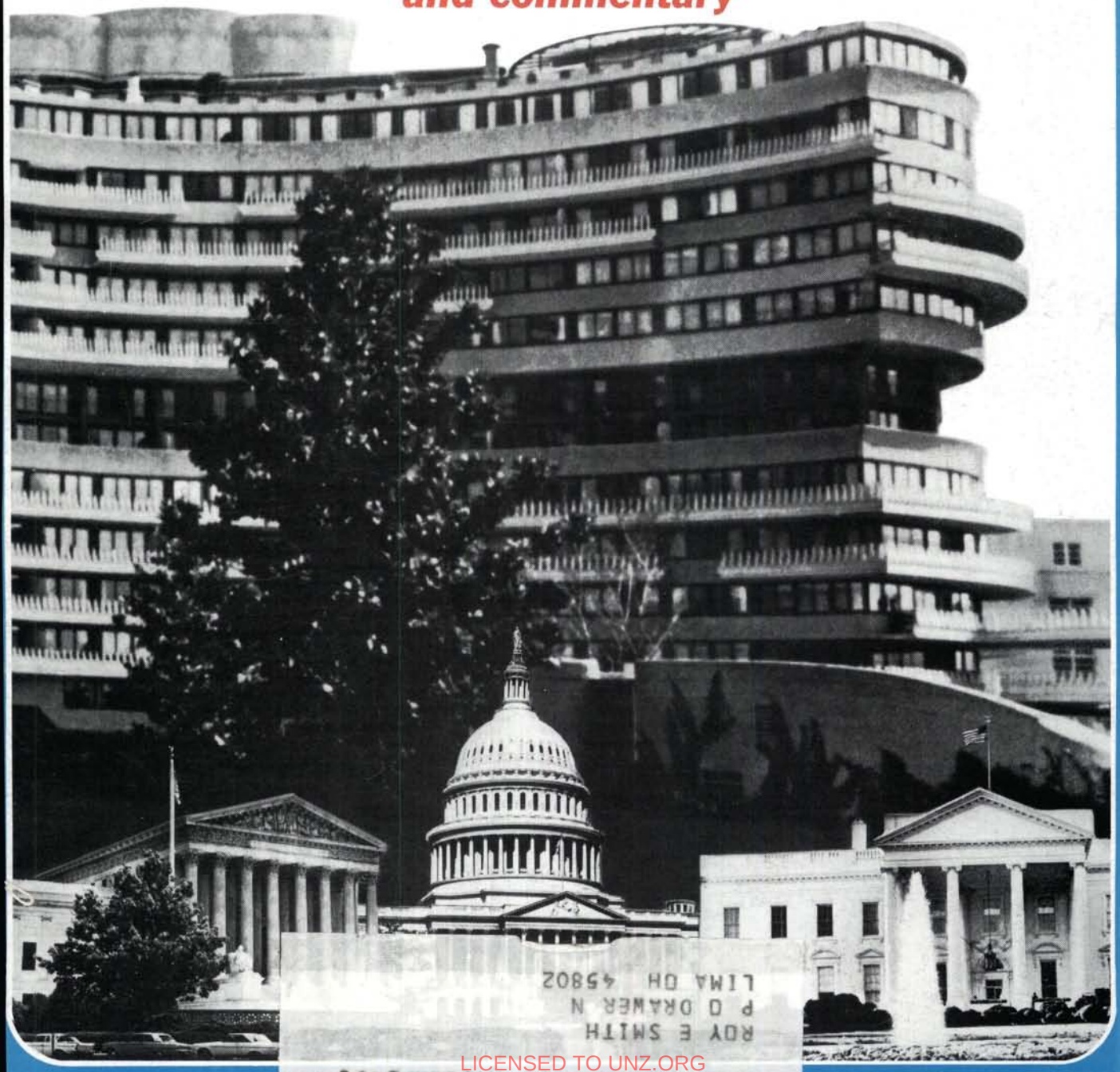
APRIL 12, 1974

NR

NATIONAL REVIEW

WHY RICHARD NIXON SHOULD RESIGN THE PRESIDENCY

The full statement of Senator James L. Buckley, and commentary



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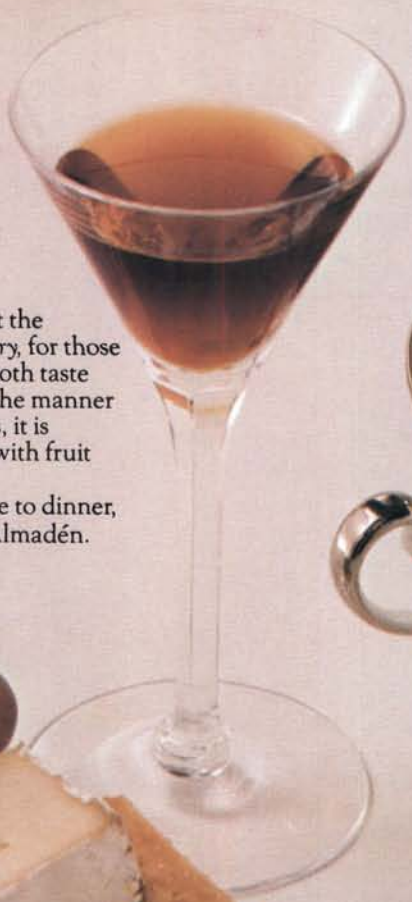

After dinner, bring out the *Almadén Cream Sherry*, for those who prefer a rich, smooth taste after a meal. Made in the manner of the Spanish masters, it is particularly exquisite with fruit or cheese.

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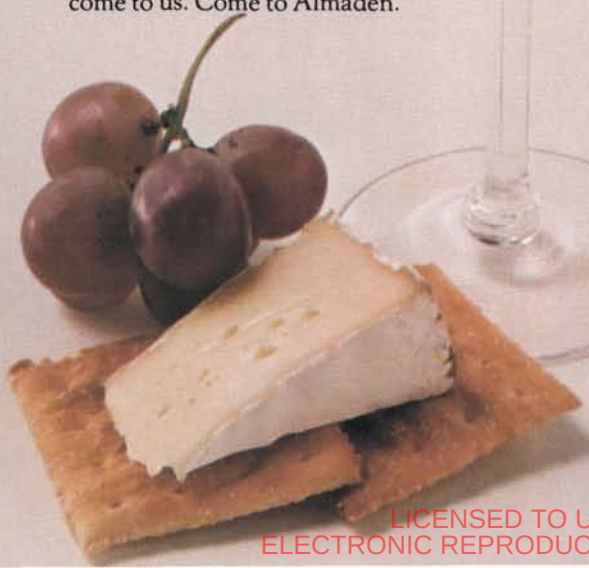

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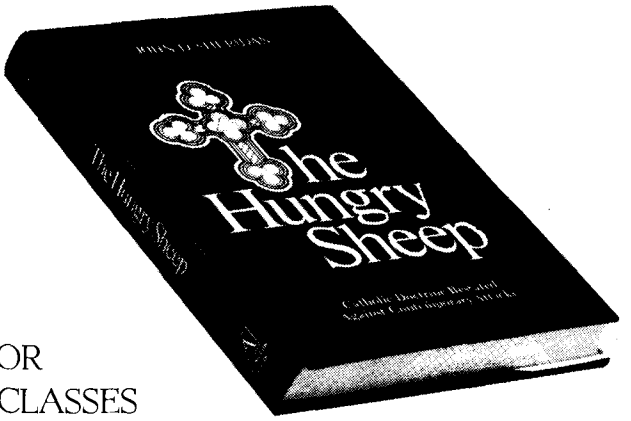
SHOULD AULD AQUINAS BE FORGOT?



Irish writer shows how the old Catholic faith can stand up—nicely—against contemporary attacks (both within and outside the Church).

"Simple faith is all very well," writes Irish novelist John Sheridan, "but it takes a heavy battering in days when attacks come from within the Church as well as from without." So Mr. Sheridan sets out to show today's Catholic "the reasons for the faith that is in him." He first reviews the questions that divide all believers (not only Catholics) from agnostics and atheists: the roots of knowledge, the reality of man's spiritual soul, original sin, man's special creation, the existence of God, the moral law, free will, the problem of evil. Next he probes the positions that divide Catholics and other Christians from most of their fellow men: the divinity of Christ, the cult of sensuality, the horrors of abortion, "kneeling before the world," and the four last things: death, judgment, heaven and hell. Finally, Mr. Sheridan explores the unique Catholic stance on the primacy of Peter, Church authority, contraception, and the place of Mary.

Whatever the issue, old or new, John Sheridan throws fresh light on it. With a keen mind and a graceful pen, he has produced that rare book on religion, one that can enlighten everyone from a high school student to a mature clergyman. Though mainly for Catholics, this lucid volume tells interested non-Catholics what the Church *still* believes —and why.

NEW LIFE FOR THEOLOGY CLASSES

Venturesome teachers who are tiring of theology without content... who are ready to trade in marshmallow sentimentality for the diamonds of doctrine... could electrify their students (high school or college) with this book.

To be sure, it represents a departure from today's texts. It pays students the compliment of expecting them to *think*. It omits the heretofore mandatory canonization of John F. Kennedy and Martin Luther King. It neglects to flatter the students and their generation.

Instead, it respects them.

A NEW KIND OF APOLOGETICS

Apologetics? A word out of the Catholic past. A pre-Vatican II word. It meant the study of the Catholic faith with a view to explaining it—and defending it—to oneself, to one's neighbors. Its subject: the *reasoned* explanations for Catholicism.

In the past decade, apologetics has all but vanished from Catholic seminaries, colleges, high schools, publishing houses. The result: a lost generation of young Catholics unable to give a coherent explanation of their faith. Inevitably, many of these Catholics drop out of a faith they can't understand, much less explain.

This book can restore reason as part of the Catholic's armor. The old textbooks respected reason—but at the expense of good writing and sometimes of contemporary awareness.

John Sheridan makes neither mistake. He unfolds traditional Catholic teachings vividly, often movingly. And he grapples with the urgent problems of today: sex education, "Christian" socialism, the Dutch Catechism, the treason of the clerics, evolution (in its Teilhardian garb), modernism, clerical celibacy. He answers both timeless and timely questions:

- What is God like?
- Must Christians surrender on sex? On homosexuality?
- What does humility really involve?
- How does the Catholic teaching on the Eucharist differ from that of other Christian churches?
- What is the proper place for the Church in the world?

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IN THIS ISSUE . . .

From its start, the Watergate scandal has been intensified time and again by the sudden explosion of a new bombshell, as these periodic jolts have come to be called. The latest of the bombshells, and, on the estimate of the media, the most unexpected and startling so far of the series, was Senator **James L. Buckley**'s March 19 statement calling for the resignation of Richard Nixon as the "one way and one way only by which the crisis can be resolved, and the country pulled out of the Watergate swamp." Unfortunately, the nature of our contemporary mass electronic communications brings it about that we often derive our impressions of public events, and form our attitudes thereon, from the small gobbets of information, yanked out of context, that are thrown at us from screens or headlines. It is therefore imperative that the conclusions of the citizenry concerning the crisis that has evolved from the Watergate affair—conclusions that by now we all realize bear so crucially on the fate not only of the President but of the Republic—ought to be reached by the most sober and responsible analysis of fact and contending argument. In furtherance thereof, *NR* publishes in this issue the full text of Senator Buckley's statement and a sizable sampling of the public response, favorable and unfavorable, including analytical comment, that it evoked in the days immediately following its release. . . . **John Muggeridge**, son of Malcolm Muggeridge, resides in Canada, and is a first timer in *NR*. He strips away the maple leaf from the Canadian radical nationalists and finds the genesis of their streaking anti-Americanism: for the resident ex-Americans, a continuing belief in, and of course opposition to, the "military industrial complex", for the radical chic Canadians, intellectual colonization by the American Left. —JB

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Cover photo by Wide World

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In 1950 Dr. Immanuel Velikovsky was pronounced a heretic and his unorthodox theories were banned from discussion at scientific gatherings.

In June, 1974, leading scholars and scientists from around the world will gather in Ontario on the theme, "Velikovsky and the Recent History of the Solar System."

Many things have happened during the last 24 years. *Pensee* is one of them.

A REPORT ON THE VELIKOVSKY AFFAIR

In the Spring of 1972 the Student Academic Freedom Forum (*Pensee* magazine) initiated a special series of publications examining the work of Immanuel Velikovsky. In his bestseller, *Worlds in Collision,* Velikovsky questioned the fundamental assumptions of disciplines ranging from psychology to physics to ancient history, and he claimed that Earth suffered near-annihilating catastrophes several times during recorded history. That thesis, once scoffed at, has gained more respect with each passing year. The one-time heretic is now in strong demand at scholarly gatherings around the United States and elsewhere. Here is a summary of some of the more important events since the appearance of our first special publication in 1972:

NASA AMES RESEARCH CENTER. *August 14, 1972.* Following Velikovsky's invited lecture and consultations with Ames personnel, Dr. Richard Haines, a research scientist at the center, wrote in *Pensee:* "I believe that the time has come to leave the debating table and begin the enormous task of evaluating empirically those hypotheses of Dr. Velikovsky's that are amenable to scientific study."

"VELIKOVSKY SYMPOSIUM," LEWIS AND CLARK COLLEGE. *August 16-18, 1972.* For three successive days 50 "invited scholars" and 200 "observers" crowded into the Council Chambers at Lewis and Clark College (Portland). Coming from as far away as Europe, they comprised the first large-scale symposium on Velikovsky's work. The papers were subsequently published in *Pensee.*

MEDIA DOCUMENTARIES. *1972–.* Both the Canadian and British Broadcasting Corporations have produced major-length television documentaries on Velikovsky's work. Titled "Velikovsky: The Bonds of the Past" (CBC) and "Worlds in Collision" (BBC), the documentaries were each shown at least twice. A Dutch television network recently aired a whole series of programs on Velikovsky, and Voice of America is preparing a presentation of its own.

NASA LANGLEY RESEARCH CENTER. *December 10, 1973.* Responding to an enthusiastic invitation to lecture at Langley, Velikovsky predicted that Mars will be found to show the effects of near-collisions with Earth.

"VELIKOVSKY'S CHALLENGE TO SCIENCE," A SYMPOSIUM SPONSORED BY THE AMERICAN ASSOCIATION FOR THE ADVANCEMENT OF SCIENCE. *February 25, 1974.* The largest scientific body in the country held the symposium at its annual convention in San Francisco. The speakers: Immanuel Velikovsky; Peter Huber (professor of the history of science, Eidgenössiche Technische Hochschule, Switzerland); Irving Michelson (professor of mechanics and mechanical aerospace engineering, Illinois Institute of Technology); J. Derral Mulholland (professor of astronomy, University of Texas); Carl Sagan (professor of astronomy, Cornell University); Norman Storer (professor of sociology, Baruch College, City University of New York).

"VELIKOVSKY AND THE RECENT HISTORY OF THE SOLAR SYSTEM," A SYMPOSIUM. *June 17-19, 1974.* Sponsored by the Student Academic Freedom Forum, this symposium will be held at McMaster University, near Toronto. Among the participants:

Immanuel Velikovsky;

Sergei Vsekhsvyatskii, director, Kiev Observatory, U.S.S.R.;

Claude Schaeffer, Chaire d'Archéologie de l'Asie Occidentale, Collège de France;

Irving Michelson, professor of mechanics and aerospace engineering, Illinois Institute of Technology.

"VELIKOVSKY AND THE POLITICS OF SCIENCE," A SYMPOSIUM. *November 2, 1974.* Scheduled as part of the Philosophy of Science Association biennial convention, Notre Dame University, Indiana.

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Letters

Sheiks Take Note

Lewis Feuer's "The New Imperialism" [March 29] should be required reading for Arab sheiks. They must not realize what a dangerous game they are playing. Visualize, if you can, how General de Gaulle would have reacted if threatened by Syria or Libya.

I do think, however, that Feuer exaggerates the West's dependence on Arab oil. The Middle East had 57.6 per cent of the world's "published proved" reserves in 1971. But "proved" reserves are a statistical fiction. We have only the vaguest idea how much oil there is in South America, the North Sea, Communist China, and our own outer continental shelf.

Regardless of their understandable fear of dollars, the OPEC nations are anxious to sell at today's prices—so anxious that they will doubtless start discounting soon in order to get business away from each other. Especially if they realize that even the most spineless Western countries might, if they are pushed far enough, react by instituting a new imperialism.

Norfolk, Va. AUGUST HATFIELD

Call to Arms

Your March 15 issue carried a most informative and persuasive article on Salt II, by Senator James L. Buckley ["Racing against the Arms Race"]. It represents a modern call to arms. I agree with him completely. When we smell Soviet smoke and see the threatening embers at its source, let's be alert with an adequate hose of defense to keep those embers under control.

My wife and I wish to commend and thank the good Senator for his excellent, well-balanced contribution to this discussion, which is of such urgent importance today.

Marion, Mass. FREDRICK F. YONKMAN, M.D.

Senator James Buckley neglected one important aspect of the Soviet military build-up—the label "Made in USA."

All modern technology, including modern military technology, depends on the use of computers. Professor Judy of the University of Toronto states that "virtually all" Soviet computer technology is of Western origin. At the end of the 1950s the United States had about 5,000 computers in use, while the USSR had a mere 120. Today the USSR has 6,000 first and second generation computers, none of Soviet origin.

In early July 1973 Professor Allen Reiter, head of the computer science department of the Israel Institute of Technology, stated: "The Russians know nothing about modern computer technology. The whole basis of third generation computers, in use in the West for ten years, is unfamiliar to them."

By its own admission, the Soviet Union cannot even make dependable electronic tubes. A top cybernetics specialist has written in *Pravda* of "the low reliability of computers and ancillary devices and the substandard quality of magnetic tapes. . . . [The best Soviet computers] operate only a few hundred hours between failures, while ancillary devices break down practically daily, and the information stored on tape cannot be stored without some loss for more than a month."

Rather than starting a new arms race it would be less costly simply to remove our technological support of the Soviet military-industrial complex.

Chicago, Ill. DANIEL JOHN SOBIESK

Torpedoing Colin Simpson

Mr. Harry V. Jaffa's discipline appears to be political science, not history ["Torpedoing the *Lusitania* Thesis," March 15]. Mr Simpson provided his readers with ten pages of notes and 12 pages of source materials, none of which can be summarily dismissed. I hope that you will invite Mr. Simpson to provide a suitable rebuttal.

Ambler, Pa. JOSEPH PAUL MORRIS JR

We inadvertently failed to mention, when we published Mr. Jaffa's article, that it was a much condensed version of his rebuttal of the Simpson book, covering only the major points. The full version, with complete documentation, will be published in the Spring issue of the Claremont Journal. *Anyone who would like a copy of the longer article can get it by writing to the Editor,* Claremont Journal, *Pitzer Hall, Claremont Men's College, Claremont, California 91711. Mr. Jaffa writes "I did want* NR *readers to know that, in*

(Continues on page 404)

NATIONAL REVIEW is published weekly, except the first issue in January, by National Review, Inc., at 50 Emmett St., Bristol, Conn. Second-class postage paid at Bristol, Conn. © National Review, Inc. 1974 Washington Bureau and Book Editor: George F. Will, 6683 32nd Place N.W., Washington, D.C. 20015

Address all editorial mail, manuscripts, letters to the editor, etc. to Editorial Dept., NATIONAL REVIEW, 150 East 35th Street, New York, N.Y. 10016

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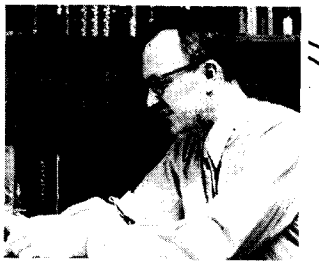

Economist William F. Rickenbacker answers 4 more investment questions about the coming

World-Wide Depression:

The International Monetary Fund is planning to eliminate gold as the world monetary standard on the grounds that it is archaic. Does that mean that the bottom will drop out of gold and gold stock prices?

Calling gold archaic doesn't make it archaic. Far from being a "barbarous relic," gold is the most widely used store of value among individuals. Even among those official bankers who most noisily assail it as an archaism it is the one asset most tenaciously held in central bank reserves. It is simply out of the question that gold will ever become an unwanted commodity. Nevertheless, if all the bankers of the world go crazy simultaneously and dump their gold on the free market because they think paper money is more valuable or more stable, there is no doubt in my mind that the initial effect will be a sharp drop in the price of gold (with a less pronounced drop in the price of silver). But it is worth remarking that the bankers will not dump gold willingly at a loss; in order to guarantee the strongest possible demand they will want to legalize the ownership of gold as widely as possible. The great new supply of gold will be matched by a great new demand. The price drop may be sharp but extremely shortlived. Over the long run, with industrial use of gold exceeding the quantity of new production and with paper money being managed by the same folks who gave us administrative chaos in every capital of the world, the price of gold in terms of junk money can go nowhere but up.

What will happen to the economy, the stock market, and to the price of gold if the fuel shortage turns out to be a phony?

The fuel problem is almost wholly a political baby. It will disappear in a few months if the politicians decide to ignore it. Then the same old forces will continue to work as they were working before the fuel question hit the front pages. Interventionist policies and anti-economic decisionmaking will continue to stultify the economy. Monetary inflation will continue on a worldwide basis. Stock prices will tend to rise as investors flee from cash into more tangible forms of wealth.

How will devaluation of the yen, the franc, or the pound affect my investments?

Devaluation has no effect on strictly domestic businesses. If the devaluation occurs in the context of floating exchange rates and is therefore an expression of economic freedom, it will lubricate the channels of world trade and have a benign effect on all economic functions, including the general level of stock prices. If the devaluation is, instead, a coercive political maneuver hatched up for purposes of mercantilist competition, it can only have a disruptive and malignant effect. Unfortunately, it appears that we are at the brink of a period of international competition based on monetary manipulation.

Some of the best blue-chip stocks have plummeted in price to tempting lows, while gold and silver have skyrocketed to prices that seem ridiculously high. Is this a good time to sell precious metals and buy blue-chip stocks?

If you have been short-term trading in gold and silver, it's no mistake to take profits after a sharp runup. But I think every portfolio should maintain a basic position in these metals undisturbed, perhaps amounting to thirty per cent of total market value, until the monetary situation has really cleared up. As to buying blue chips: of course. But be prudent. An assortment of major American corporations, bought at less than ten times earnings, and yielding six or seven per cent on the cash dividend, can hardly do you damage.

The Worst Financial Panic in History?

Free Market economist William F. Rickenbacker has built his reputation for superbly accurate financial analysis on this simple fact: money markets . . . stock and bond markets . . . precious metals and other commodity markets must *always* be treated as *PEOPLE who are operating the law of supply and demand with unfailing dependability.* The people who make these markets can not be manipulated or fooled indefinitely by monetary "managers" who think that they can defy the natural laws of economics by fixing the price of gold or by falsifying the real value of a currency, as they have sought to do with the International Monetary Fund.

How well does Bill Rickenbacker's concept of free market economics work? In his book, *Wooden Nickels* he predicted that silver coins would *vanish* and that the price of silver would skyrocket. In *Death of the Dollar* he predicted the current international monetary crisis . . . the devaluation of the dollar and the accelerating inflation that are here now. In his investment advisory service, the RICKENBACKER REPORT, he continues to analyze earth-shaking monetary events yet to come — events that could trigger the worst depression in history and wipe out all but the most hard-headed, practical-minded investors.

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FOR THE RECORD

■ Democratic Sen. **Lloyd Bentsen** (Tex.) told a Tulane audience March 24 that he thought the chances were now 50-50 that the House would vote a bill of impeachment, but Bentsen doesn't think the Senate will convict the President. **McGovern** presidential campaign aide **Frank Mankiewicz**, sharing the platform with Bentsen, said he didn't believe the Senate would have an opportunity to act. "I think he [**Nixon**] will resign first." . . . Chairman **Peter Rodino** of the House Judiciary now says the Committee will not meet its tentative April 30 deadline, that it may be early June before it concludes its impeachment action. . . . **Leonard Woodcock**, of the United Auto Workers, who had called for Nixon's resignation at the time of the Saturday Night Massacre, now says the proper route is impeachment since resignation "would leave the myth of a martyred President." . . . **Alger Hiss**, who is becoming ever more visible at left wing do's, publicly signed an impeachment petition just the other day. . . . Historian **Henry Steele Commager**, featured speaker at an Impeach Nixon rally in Seattle, has called not only for that but also for the abolition of the **CIA**, the abolition of the office of the Vice Presidency, a new method of succession to the Presidency, and—for good measure—a new seniority system in Congress. . . . With friends like this dept.: former presidential aide **Robert Finch**, who has decided he won't after all run for anything in California this year, says, "I'm not going to turn my back totally on him [Nixon]" (just partially? three-quarters? fifteen-sixteenths?).

■ Rep. **Robert Michel** (R., Ill.), chairman of the House Republican Campaign Committee, says the big donors aren't around these days and that it takes "a lot of five and ten dollar donations to make up for those three-grand gifts.". . . But then the Democrats are having their troubles too, says *Wall Street Journal*, which reports that a major Democratic fundraising dinner in Washington last week brought in 30 per cent less than the $1 million it made a year ago. . . . The Government Accounting Office now says leading presidential contenders in 1972 spent nearly $100 million on their campaigns. The breakdown: Nixon $49 million, McGovern $45 million, **Humphrey** $4.8 million, **Wallace** $1.6 million. . . . The **ACU** reports that 35 conservative congressmen, headed by North Carolina's **Jesse Helms**, have expressed concern to the President over the "runaway" proposed budget for fiscal '75. . . . The Communist *Daily World* has put its finger on it: Sen. **James Buckley**'s call for resignation was a cunning move to derail the present impeachment drive in Congress. . . . In Washington, Buckley staffers, struggling under an avalanche of mail (12,000 in the first post-statement week), are sorting the letters into cartons labeled "great Americans" and "misinformed Americans." (Some of the younger and more irreverent staff members have set up an unofficial office pool on whether Buckley will be called **Judas**, **Brutus**, or **Benedict Arnold** most often.)

Jones, *Montreal Star* Rothco

"Your flight will leave in 30 minutes—if there's no strike. Your fare will be $375—if there's no increase."

■ It's his job to seem cheerful publicly but Sen. **Bill Brock** of Tennessee, chairman of the Senate Republican Campaign Committee, says he believes the GOP can take four Senate seats now held by Democrats George McGovern (S.D.), **William Fulbright** (Ark.), **Birch Bayh** (Ind.), and **Mike Gravel** (Alaska) come November. . . . No truth at all in story first ventilated by *New Times*, then picked up and elaborated by *Village Voice*, that former **Clif White** associate **Art Finkelstein**, regarded as one of the best political analysts in the field, has predicted that the Republicans would lose 140 House seats in November. It was this prediction, said *New Times*, that led to Sen. Buckley's call for the President's resignation.

■ Bad news in **Tel Aviv** where a recent Opinion Research poll indicates more than 11 per cent of the Israelis interviewed are thinking of emigrating. The figure for the 18 to 29 age bracket was 20.2 per cent. . . . Swedish Prime Minister **Olof Palme** has told reporters that his government has "particular motives" for not at present recognizing the Provisional Revolutionary Government of South Vietnam (Vietcong). One "particular" motive could be that Palme has been trying for months to heal the breach with Washington that followed his denunciation of Nixon for the Cambodian bombing. Named to be the first U.S. ambassador to Sweden in 16 months is hard line anti-Communist **Robert Strausz-Hupé**, now U.S ambassador to Belgium.

■ That's the good college try, Comrade: the *Daily World* headline on its review of the movie, *The Exorcist* puts it to us: "Capitalism," it says "Can't Be Exorcised."

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LETTERS

(Continued from page 400)

exposing the Simpson book as falsely claiming to make documented assertions, I was not making undocumented assertions of his false documentation." —ED.

. . . Not to the Swift

There is nothing new under the sun:

See Mark 14:51 and 52: "And there followed him a certain young man, having a linen cloth cast about *his* naked *body*; and the young men laid hold on him:

"And he left the linen cloth, and fled from them naked."

That (cf. your editorial [March 29]) is where streaking started.

Rockville, Md. SVEND PETERSEN

Solzhenitsyn

I wish to nominate "Solzhenitsyn: Man of the Year" as "The Week" item of the decade. This short piece [Jan. 18] is opinion journalism at its brief, informative, persuasive finest.

May it be reprinted and nailed to Henry Kissinger's bathroom mirror for contemplation every morning, before he begins another day of his glamorous Big Power Diplomacy, with its attendant disregard for the lives and liberties of those within other "spheres of influence."

Prospect, Ky. TIM HARMON

As I read your excellent editorial "Solzhenitsyn" [March 1], it occurred to me that some of your readers might be able to help me. I am writing a biographical and critical study of Arthur Koestler, whose own autobiography ends with his arrival in England in 1940 and who does not intend to write any further works of autobiography or memoirs. Koestler has given me unrestricted access to his papers and is providing me with all biographical and other information lodged in his memory as well as in his files. In my account of his life and work to date, I have *carte blanche*. Koestler has also agreed that I may freely seek, without his supervision or veto, the help of any who know or have known him, and who may have papers of one sort or another bearing on any aspect of his life and work. I should be grateful to hear from anyone anywhere

(Continues on page 443)

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THE WEEK

■ Public and private expenditures on health, education, and welfare now command as large a share of Gross National Product as does all manufacturing—about 25 per cent. If the trend continues, we will eventually manufacture nothing at all. But we will be the healthiest, best educated bunch of welfare recipients in the whole world.

■ Not widely noted: Patricia Hearst's fiancé and cohabitee Steven Weed had SDS and black militant roommates at Princeton. His name and phone number turned up in an address book belonging to Symbionese Liberation Army information officer Nancy Ling Perry. In a recent interview, Weed stated that Patricia never read her father's paper, the *San Francisco Examiner*. At the dinner table she used to tell him it was "an irrelevant rag geared to senior citizens." Commenting on Patricia's safety in the same interview, Weed remarked: "The question is whether to worry more about the SLA or the FBI." The ideological atmosphere surrounding the couple is thus pretty rancid. The FBI is administering sodium pentothal "truth serum" tests to Weed in connection with its investigation of the kidnapping.

■ By an 11 to 4 vote, the Senate Banking Committee rejected proposals to extend the government's authority to control wages and prices. The Committee also voted unanimously against the Administration's proposal to single out health care and a few other industries for special punishment. That leaves only the oil industry under controls, which should serve to divert capital to uncontrolled sectors. The score on price controls is now umpteen thousand failures, no successes.

■ Impeach Humphrey? It transpires that Hubert Humphrey just may have received funds from Howard Hughes, according to the same Hughes aide who admittedly gave $100,000 to Bebe Rebozo. And may also have received milk funds. For further details, look through the back pages of your local newspaper.

■ "Dan Rather with CBS news, Mr. President," said Dan Rather, and the assembled broadcasters at the televised Houston press conference interrupted him with applause mixed with jeers. "Are you running for something?" grinned Richard Nixon. "No sir, Mr. President," smiled Dan Rather. "Are you?" Largely because of his sharp needle, Rather has become such a media celebrity that he has been the subject of recent articles in *Newsweek* (ambivalent), *Esquire* (admiring), and *New York* (ga-ga). He recently told one interviewer that he has "great respect" for both the Presidency and the man who now occupies it, which may play in Peoria, but doesn't square with *Esquire*'s backstage portrait of him and associates relishing anti-Nixon "zingers" he had worked into his reportage. The same article also suggests, plausibly, that the burglars who rifled Rather's files in early 1972 were White House plumbers. Mr. Nixon has to put up with Rather. The real question is whether the viewer must also.

■ Incredible as it seems, the same government that froze beef prices last year is now buying $45-million worth of beef to "improve prices to cattle producers and feeders." As Roger LeRoy Miller said in the February issue of *Harper's*, consumers should "bite the government hand that feeds us, for the Helping Hand has turned out to be certainly no better than the Invisible Hand."

■ THE WAY WE WERE DEPT.: From "The Time of Joe McCarthy," by Matthew Josephson, writing in *The Nation*: "The United States was the most piously capitalist nation in the world, with only a tiny fraction of dissenters who were not bent on profit seeking. . . . It was a time when libraries supported by the Federal Government were being raided, film and television were censored, schoolteachers were subject to inquisitorial harassment, and the nation's whole educational system seemed to suffer a kind of paralysis." Poor Josephson. He could be enjoying—even wallowing in—Watergate, but he misses his old foxhole.

■ Sir Robert Thompson, the British expert on Southeast Asia and a consultant to our National Security Council, was in South Vietnam in February and testified recently concerning his findings on the television program, *The Advocates*. Economic rather than military problems are at present the more critical for Saigon, he stated. Even with the lower level of aid they are now receiving, the South Vietnamese are successfully countering the North's military activity. The North Vietnamese have violated the Paris Agreement by increasing their forces in the South by upwards of 20,000 men, by adding about 150 big guns (130mm)—an increase of 75 per cent—and by increasing the number of their tanks from 100 to 400. The United States, however, while it may have done the minimum necessary for the South Vietnamese, hasn't even taken full advantage of what it is allowed to do under the Paris Agreement. Thompson doesn't doubt that without American military aid South Vietnam would collapse, perhaps simply from the psychological blow of losing our support. But he ranks the South Vietnamese army, with that aid, second only to Israel in the free world. Sir Robert added that if the Communists took over South Vietnam and then were able to maintain a unified Vietnamese military force, they would have the third largest land army on earth, a force no nation in the rest of Southeast Asia could resist.

■ About those 200,000 South Vietnamese "political prisoners": a fact-finding mission sponsored by the American Security Council reports that South Vietnam's

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prisons can accommodate only a fourth of that number and are nowhere near filled to capacity. The 200,000 figure comes from a well known leftist priest, Father Chan Tin, who "seems to put the human suffering he encounters among his parishioners in class struggle terms," and who defines "political prisoners" so broadly as to include arrested Communist saboteurs, terrorists, etc. Father Tin is still free, despite his continuing attacks on the government; his liberty hardly credits his charges. As for the notorious "tiger cages," the mission found them to be comparable to those cells in U.S. prisons that are used for solitary confinement of fractious prisoners, except that the "tiger cages" are larger. They were not underground, nor roofless, nor so tiny that prisoners were forced to crouch in them, as has been widely charged. In fact, "the ASC group found no hard evidence of systematic mistreatment of prisoners on Con Son Island," the supposed scene of terrible repressions: no sign of disease or malnutrition either.

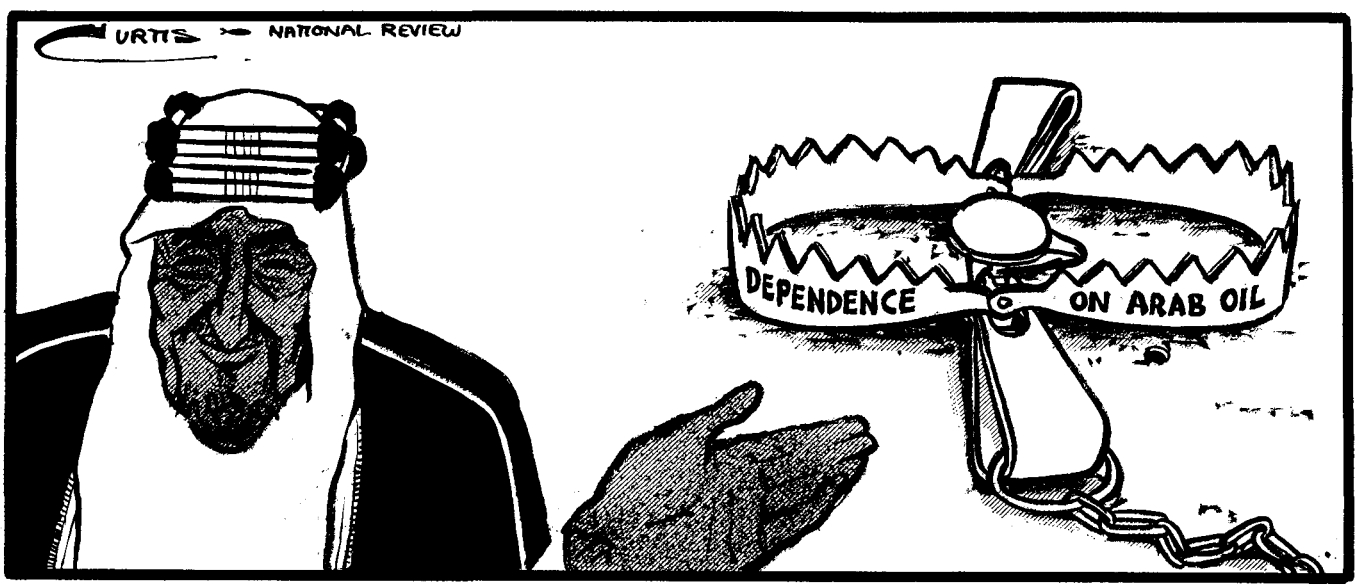
■ After streaking, kidnapping seems to be the season's favorite sport. Now, with Ian Ball's bloody attempt to kidnap Princess Anne and Captain Phillips, it has even reached England. The attempt fortunately failed, with no fatalities, and though police, in the interests of the defendant, aren't talking, fears that Ball was connected with the IRA have subsided. Violence isn't very British, but cranks are. So, these days, is bungling.

■ BERLIN. Police had no trouble nabbing two young burglars who were unable to flee the bar they had broken into after pausing in their labors for four bottles of schnapps.

■ Phillips and Drew is a well known, prestigious (not to say stuffy) stockbroker firm in London. On March 6, immediately after the British election, it put out a document on "the likelihood of various types of measures in the forthcoming Budget," as seen by its economists. It was to be a guide to its clients. The list, a cold and rather technical list such as delights the hearts of economists, went like this: 1. Food subsidies, probability percentage 100, when? Budget (meaning that they would be proposed in the new Labor Budget). 2. Pensions increased. Probability percentage 100, when? Budget. 3. Stiffer price controls. Probability percentage 100, when? Budget. 4. Subsidies to local authorities increased. Probability percentage 95, when? Budget. And so on down the line for the first 28 items. The 29th was startling and chilling: 29. Military coup. Probability percentage 40. When? In three to ten years.

■ Argentina hopes to double her population of 25 million by the end of the century. Dissemination of birth control pills and information is being restricted by the government in the hope of raising Argentina's population growth rate which, at 1.4% a year, is about half the overall Latin American rate of 2.7%. In spite of Peronist charges during last year's election campaign that there were a million unemployed, the talk now is of not having enough men to work the land in the future, and of the threat of an economically powerful Brazil with an expected 200 million population by the year 2000.

■ The U.S. press ordinarily overlooks the atrocities of black African regimes, but Idi Amin has long since forfeited his own protection under this affirmative inaction program. Since he came to power in Uganda three years ago, perhaps 90,000 of his enemies have—in the Ugandan idiom—"disappeared." His words and deeds have been virulently anti-Asian, anti-Israeli, and antisemitic. Now, in the wake of an abortive military revolt against him, he may really begin a crackdown. There is even some suspicion he himself began the revolt ("confusion," in the Ugandan idiom), the better to eliminate his enemies. What makes this notion plausible is that though the uprising didn't start until Sunday morning, Amin had abruptly divorced three of his four wives the night be-



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fore—sort of a Saturday night massacre, in the Western idiom.

■ The London *Times* published on March 22 a letter from playwright Harold Pinter, which begins: "The exile of Aleksandr Solzhenitsyn from the Soviet Union has, quite properly, received considerable attention in the press. We are all relieved he is alive and free. Many others are not free." He then tells of his own efforts on behalf of Vladimir Bukovsky, who, despite ill health, has been in a labor camp since January 1972. Mr. Pinter concludes: "If an international commission is not appointed to insist upon an investigation into Soviet labor camps, [Bukovsky] will die, and so will many others whose names we do not know." Mr. Pinter thus seconds the Appeal by Andrei Sakharov and eight others (see *NR*, March 29 for full text) for an international commission to investigate the crimes of the KGB and its predecessors. Anyone wishing to signify support of the Appeal may write to Miss Linda Bridges, NATIONAL REVIEW, 150 East 35th Street, New York, N.Y. 10016.

■ First the bad news. By moving it from a separate form to prime space on Page One, Form 1040, the IRS has boosted the take on the donate-one-overwithheld-dollar-to-the-political-party-of-your-choice fund appeal fourfold, from one taxpayer in 30 last year to one in seven this year, thereby endearing itself to both political parties, and why not, both parties having over the years thrown a lot of business to the IRS. Now the good news. Both parties are netting substantially less at their fundraising dinners. Contributions to the Democrats are down 30 per cent from last year, contributions to the Republicans are down 33 per cent. Both are admitted figures.

■ Off and running: the hairdresser who streaked through one Midwestern legislature announcing "I am the streaker of the house."

Resignation and the Constitution

The idea that a President might or should resign is unfamiliar; as often in the case of unfamiliar things, many of us tend to shy away from it, whether or not we believe Mr. Nixon ought to remain in office. By both Mr. Nixon's friends and his enemies, the argument is made that "the Constitution provides," in the impeachment clauses, the only proper method by which to decide whether a President ought to leave office. Any other method, and specifically resignation, would be "unconstitutional." Mr. Nixon himself has been stressing, further, that resignation would "weaken the office of President."

Now as a matter of fact the impeachment process is not the only method of changing Presidents included in the Constitution. Article II, section 5 states: "In case of the removal of the President from office, or of his death, resignation, or inability to discharge the powers and duties of said office, the same shall devolve on the Vice President . . ." etc. The first section of the 25th Amendment, which modifies and extends the provisions governing disability and succession, reads: "In case of the removal of the President from office or of his death or resignation, the Vice President shall become President." In spite of the apodictic declarations, from various members of Congress and assorted pundits, that have lately been broadcast, the Constitution plainly and explicitly does envision "resignation" as one way in which a President may leave office. And it would be absurd to suppose that resignation from the Presidency or from any other office in or out of government would be "unconstitutional" or otherwise excluded. Resignation is always a possibility—though sometimes a dangerous one if the office you are resigning from is in the Mafia, the IRA, or the KGB.

In business as in government, people resign all the time, for all sorts of reasons. Even a pope has resigned. They resign because they get ill or tired or frightened or bored, or want to make more money or spend more time with their family or go to a monastery. Sometimes they resign because the troops they command have lost too many battles, because their friends or associates or customers or constituents pressure them into it, or because they see it as the only alternative to being thrown out. Not infrequently they resign because they have become honestly convinced that they are not, or are no longer, the man for the job; that, whether the difficulty is in them or in their associates or in circumstances beyond their control, they can no longer satisfactorily fulfill the duties of the office.

With respect to resignation, there is no difference in kind between the office of head of government or chief of state and other offices, civil and military, private and public. Thousands of rulers have resigned—or, as it is often termed in referring to rulers, abdicated—from scores of motives. But what is notable in the case of rulers is the fact that their dominant reason for resigning has often been precisely what Richard Nixon has lately been giving as the reason not to resign: the defense of the integrity of the office that they have held, and the assuring of an orderly succession. A snide reference by Dante has given Pope Celestine V a bad name, but in fact he was an ascetic elderly hermit who had not wanted to be Pope, confirmed in a few months his fear that he could not administer the Papacy, and resigned to forestall its total collapse into corruption and schism. In the middle of the sixteenth century King and Emperor Charles V realized that his gout was becoming intolerable at the same time that the problem of the succession to the thrones of the Empire, Spain, the Netherlands, and the two Sicilies was likely to involve revolt and possibly

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chaos, so he abdicated and retired to a Spanish monastery after carefully arranging the takeover of the kingdoms by his son, Philip, and of the Empire by his brother, Ferdinand.

There is no need to go back to earlier centuries. In our own, a King of England resigned in order to marry the woman he loved. He resigned under pressure, but he could have resisted and, if necessary, faced the impeachment that might have followed. But he knew that resistance would have meant a harsh conflict with the Commons, with grave injury to the country and quite probably the end of the monarchy which serves as the country's unifying institution. After the war a plebiscite was held in Belgium to ascertain the popular attitude toward the return of Leopold III, who had to tender Belgium's surrender to Nazi Germany in 1940. Leopold was upheld by a 58 per cent majority. But when, a few months after resuming rule, he saw that the socialists and liberals were not going to be reconciled to his presence, and that the people were going to be torn and polarized, and the monarchy possibly overthrown, he abdicated—resigned—in favor of his son, Baudouin, who still rules. These twentieth century monarchs were chiefs of state but not heads of government, but under the Constitution of the Fifth Republic Charles de Gaulle, like our American President, was both. And de Gaulle, whom Richard Nixon is known to admire and even to regard as a model, resigned the French Presidency after the defeat of a measure he favored in a popular referendum. Still closer to home, Spiro Agnew resigned six months ago, and the office of Vice President was not shaken by the slightest tremor. Some say he resigned only to stay out of jail, but it is plausible to believe that Agnew was also motivated, as he has said, by the feeling that the kind of public trial in which he might have fought with every legal and publicity weapon for acquittal of the charges brought against him would have degraded the office and wounded the nation. And come to think of it—an item not mentioned in the course of the public discussion of resignation until this paragraph—a leading American resigned one of the nation's highest posts, to which he had been reelected by a smashing majority, just a couple of months ago—they say, because he wants to be President and feels he has a better chance with more freedom for maneuver—and the office he had been filling for nearly 16 years has just demonstrated its perhaps inordinate vitality by shooting its annual budget without a single scar through a legislature in what must be close to record speed.

There is no reason to be frightened at the idea of a presidential resignation, or to suppose that it would have an adverse effect on the office of President. Senator James Buckley has reached the contrary conclusion: "In order to preserve the Presidency, Richard Nixon must resign as President." We may analyze and debate his proposal on its merits within the specific situation our country presently faces, and reach our verdict by the standard of what is best for our country.

Secretary Butz's Almanac

If we get some drenching rains;
If we mobilize the trains;
If, on schedule, it shines;
If demand abroad declines;
If the fertilizer's there;
If we sow just *everywhere*,
You may be allowed to eat
(For a price) Midwestern wheat.

W. H. VON DREELE

Arabs Reenter History

One year ago, prior to the Yom Kippur war and the oil boycott, the Arabs did not exist as far as Western and especially American perception was concerned. They were assumed to be backward illiterates. As soldiers they were thought derisory. Knowledgeable political analysts considered unity of political action beyond the capability of the diverse and squabbling Arabs. Their positions on the conflict with Israel received next to no attention in the American media.

Almost as a matter of course, and with near unanimity, Congress passed resolutions expressing total support for Israel, and waves of Phantom bombers and missiles were despatched to the Middle East. From the perspective of Washington, the weight of the Arabs both in the international equation and in the U.S. domestic political equation was about as close to zero as it is possible to get.

But, now, in the wake of the oil boycott, all has been transformed. The Arab arguments are given full attention by national news organs. Even the photographs printed by magazines and newspapers show a significant change. We no longer see, at least quite so often, the ragged waifs and slum dwellers. Both the *New York Times* and *Newsweek* within the past few weeks have given the Arabs the full glamor treatment: alert looking children in new schools, up to date technology shots, chic looking Arab damsels and lean sheiks. The Shah of Iran and Saudi Petroleum Minister Sheik Ahmed Zaki al-Yamani give long and sophisticated interviews to eager Western journalists. The effects of the oil boycott—a mild one, indeed, compared with the maximum Arab capability—have been felt from the chancellories of Europe to Tokyo to the local American gasoline pump.

The *New York Times*, on this in step with the Nixon Administration, has discovered that the Arab states, taken together as the one Arab nation they speak of, constitute a major world power. "Already the Persian Gulf," writes Edward Sheehan in the Sunday *NYT Magazine*, "is emerging as a major source of world capital, and inevitably the Arabs—in their collectivity—will join America, Russia, China, Western Europe, and Japan in the fellowship [strange word] of global powers." By 1980, Saudi Arabia, according to some projections, will possess $200 billion in foreign investments and currency reserves, and, of course, has demonstrated the will to turn the oil on and off in support of policy objectives.

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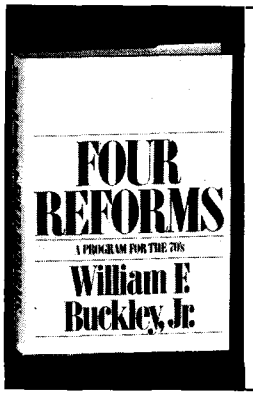
Here's what the reviewers have to say about Buckley's new book:



"It will do neither author nor reader any service to reconstruct his arguments in a review. The book is cheap, it is short, a delight to read: for a tired liberal a near approximation to a hard sweat and a Swedish massage. Read it." --Daniel Patrick Moynihan
THE NEW YORK TIMES BOOK REVIEW

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All New!

"Four Reforms—A Program for the Seventies" has to be one of the most remarkable books Buckley has ever written—certainly very different from any of his previous works. And not one word has been published before.

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So far, the Arab nations have not evolved a coherent strategy and they may overplay their impressive hand. But massive Arab capital is sure to make its weight increasingly felt, and soon. Ambitious development plans are under way throughout the Arab world. Iran, a Moslem though not an Arab nation, is on the way to becoming a major military power. Like the Japanese in recent years, the Arabs will no doubt use some of their resources to cultivate their image and their cultural presence in the West. Arabic studies will begin to flourish. University chairs will be endowed.

It is difficult to know what the verdict of history will be on the Nixon Administration's initiatives with regard to China and the Soviet Union. That game is still being played, and the cards held by Washington do not appear to be especially strong ones. But it will surely be one of the oddities of this period that the Administration so signally failed to perceive the transformation of the Arab world or its potential leverage. As recently as the spring of 1972, the Nixon Administration was treating King Faisal of Saudi Arabia like some sort of desert busboy. It persuaded him to approach Sadat of Egypt with regard to the Russian presence there and led him to believe that if the Russians were expelled, Washington would pressure Israel on the occupied territories. The Russians were expelled, and Faisal got the "Don't call us, we'll call you" treatment. The oil boycott, engineered by Saudi Arabia, one of the most conservative and pro-Western of the Arab states, was the answer. Faisal and Sheik Yamani are now perceived in an entirely new light. Their moods are a factor in Nixon's very tenure in office. Faisal's good opinion of Kissinger is held to be a giant plus . . . for Kissinger. Some accommodation with the oil producing nations is seen to be essential for Western unity itself.

Punch Rothco

"Welcome to the club, Harold."

None of this means, of course, that the United States is any the less concerned for the survival of Israel, to which it has a long standing commitment. Israeli military prowess will not cease to be a factor in the Middle Eastern equation. But the last six months have witnessed a world historical event. The Arab world has reentered history, after a sleep of 500 years.

Oil: Supply and Price

Despite predictions that an end to the Arab oil embargo would not have any immediate effect on supplies, it had an immediate effect on supplies. The reason is that the Energy Office had been extremely cautious about drawing down oil product inventories because of the danger that stocks could not be replenished. Heating oil stocks have recently ranged from 30 to 38 per cent above the level of a year before. On March 1, stocks of oil and oil products were nearly 8 per cent above the figures for a year ago. Now, there is considerable opportunity to tap such savings accounts.

Residual oil users, notably utilities and New York's large buildings, have been worst hit by the Arab embargo, although they received the least attention. Two-thirds of all residual oil used here is imported. Much of the imported residual comes from the Caribbean refineries which, in turn, get their crude oil (within a month) from Algeria. So there should be some relief on this front too, long before the peak season for brownouts.

Looking only a little farther ahead, Sanford Rose, in the current issue of *Fortune*, shows how the domestic oil supply could be raised by 40 per cent within three years. For one thing, the Texas railroad commission's "maximum efficient rate" is unnecessarily restrictive, and cuts production by some 600,000 barrels a day. Existing refinery capacity in Western Europe and the Caribbean could turn out an additional 2.65 million barrels a day, and simple design changes (e.g., fatter pipes) could add up to 300,000 barrels to U.S. refinery capacity.

Such increases in supply will eventually cut the price, but there is widespread doubt about the immediate situation. "Some brands of gasoline," says *Time*, "could cost even more at the pump . . . because many refiners will be blending high priced Arab crude into their product." But "some brands" can hardly sell for more than others, or motorists will buy their gas elsewhere. As any retailer will confirm, there is no guarantee that something can be sold at a high price merely because the supplier asked a high price for it. Gulf and others have already cut prices on abundant heating oil and kerosene. Texaco

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In Extremis

After the "I am a Keynesian" comment;
  After flirtations with Moynihan's crew;
Following FAP and a fortnight in China,
  Finally Nixon's been nodding at you.
All the attention is easy to fathom:
  Senate conviction requires two-thirds.
If you believe he's sincere, so support him!
  Otherwise, tell him his spiel's for the birds.

W. H. VON DREELE

took a penny off the wholesale price of gasoline. *Newsweek* reports that "in some regions, competing dealers have begun to cut [gasoline] prices to attract customers." These are indications that demand is expected to stay below pre-embargo "projections," because of various adjustments to higher prices and uncertain supply, and because of the looming recession.

As for domestic prices, Senator Henry Jackson has read the appropriate palms and decided that the price of domestic oil need never exceed $7.09 a barrel, and that "prices higher than the long term supply price play no useful economic function." On the contrary, such prices attract and generate capital and thus accelerate the process of getting from the short run to the long run. But the real problem is that world prices for oil may fall too sharply, as each producing nation tries to increase sales by discounting. Facing this possibility of a sharp fall in import prices, together with the uncertainty of congressional meddling, few investors will make long range plans for extracting oil from costly domestic sources.

With this in mind, departing Treasury Secretary George Shultz suggested a variable tariff to keep a secure floor under domestic prices. Commerce Secretary Frederick Dent proposed up to $98 billion in government subsidies for unconventional sources of synthetic oil and gas, which subsidies would make up any difference between the market price and a guaranteed minimum price. The Administration wants another $10 billion to subsidize energy research, and Congress seems inclined to up the ante. We face proposals to keep energy prices up, and to keep them down, to tax the oil industry and give it subsidies, to make the industry more competitive, and to make it a state monopoly. With luck, the contradictions may just cancel out.

A Good Man Steps Down

The Nixon Administration suffers a grievous loss with the resignation of Treasury Secretary George Shultz, last remaining member of the original Cabinet. Despite his conservative views, Shultz always held the respect of the labor unions. He played a key role in the settlement of the 1970 postal strike and in efforts to end racial exclusion by construction unions. When George Meany finally reversed his position on wage-price controls, he suggested that President Nixon fire all economic advisers except Shultz.

Those who still refuse to admit their own mistake in advocating controls often attempt to personalize their frustrations. *Newsweek* says of Shultz that "his policies for curbing inflation met with one failure after another." But they weren't his policies. They were the media's policies to which Richard Nixon surrendered. Economist Pierre Rinfret, special adviser during the 1972 campaign, now asks: "Do we need more proof that this Administration cannot handle the American economy? Does Mr. Shultz have to make another mistake?" But it was Rinfret, not Shultz, who made the mistake of advocating wage-price controls and expansionary fiscal and monetary policies.

Where Shultz's advice was followed—notably in letting exchange rates float—results were very good. The old world monetary system could never have withstood the shock of an energy embargo. Where Shultz's advice was not followed—as with the adoption of wage-price controls or the retention of oil import quotas—the results were disastrous. It is to be hoped that the absence of George Shultz will not swing the balance of policy advice too far from the uncommon wisdom that he represented to the short-sighted expediency that so often prevails.

A Text for April 15

"The intelligent man, when he pays taxes, certainly does not believe that he is making a prudent and productive investment of his money; on the contrary, he feels that he is being mulcted in an excessive amount for services that, in the main, are useless to him, and that, in substantial part, are downright inimical to him. He may be convinced that a police force, say, is necessary for the protection of his life and property, and that an army and navy safeguard him from being reduced to slavery by some vague foreign kaiser, but even so he views these things as extravagantly expensive—he sees in even the most essential of them an agency for making it easier for the exploiters constituting the government to rob him. In those exploiters themselves he has no confidence whatever. He sees them as purely predatory and useless; he believes that he gets no more net benefit from their vast and costly operations than he gets from the money he lends to his wife's brother. They constitute a power that stands over him constantly, ever alert for new chances to squeeze him. If they could do so safely they would strip him to his hide. If they leave him anything at all, it is simply prudentially, as a farmer leaves a hen some of her eggs."

H. L. Mencken
American Mercury, February 1925

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Notes & Asides

■ Dear Mr. Buckley:

I have read that you like rock music. I, being an expert on the subject, have prepared you a list of the best rock records available.

1. The best rock music is that of the Beach Boys, who are led by Brian Wilson. Brian is a true genius; he has talent equal to that of the great composers of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries (more or less). He is the best composer and the best producer in rockland, probably the best composer of the twentieth century (certainly the most creative). He is also the most progressive musician alive. Beach Boys records are the most tasteful, melodic, harmonic, and musically sophisticated available. They are also the best produced, best engineered, best recorded, and most technically advanced of all. They are far superior to all other rock music.

2. The Beatles I assume you are familiar with; I have included a list of their best LPs.

3. Bob Dylan is a true poet. As a musician, he is not much; but he does write some pretty songs. Once you get into him, there is no turning back.

4. Jimi Hendrix was a fine guitarist, a good singer, and a fine songwriter. He had a gift for melody, second only to Wilson's in the rock field; his songs were second only to Brian's in musical validity.

5. Led Zeppelin, led by Jimmy Page, is a good band. Page is an excellent guitarist who writes beautiful songs. They cover a variety of styles from olde English to soul to symphonic.

6. The Stones you are probably familiar with. In spite of their musical simplicity, they write beautiful songs. Enclosed is a list of their best LPs.

7. Paul Simon is a good lyricist who writes beautiful songs—he is the most popular solo artist in rock.

8. The Who, led by Pete Townshend, is one of the world's best bands. Townshend writes fantastic and elaborate songs. He is the originator of classical-style rock. His latest LP ("Avadrophenia") is a masterpiece.

A few notes on the LPs listed: if possible get the LPs in England or on the Continent; European records are usually superior to U.S. records in sound quality. The specifics of each group of labels are listed below:

Capitol—Beach Boys/Beatles—by all means get Capitol records in England where they are manufactured by EMI. Capitol records in the U.S.A. are of low sound quality. The Beach Boys' LPs on Capitol are deleted in the U.S.A. and available only in Europe—try the HMS store in London (Oxford St.), they have a good selection of Beach Boys.

Warner/Reprise—Hendrix/Beach Boys—these have fair quality—available in the U.S., but better bought in England.

Columbia—Dylan/Simon—again, fair quality, but British versions are better.

Atlantic—Stones/Zeppelin—good quality, but British again slightly better.

London—Stones—equal to British Decca Label in quality, LPs #5-6 (Stones) are British versions; get these, not the American versions. American versions of others are suitable.

Decca—Who—good quality, but British is better— *the Who sell out* is deleted in England, get American version.

Each record has a circled number near it—this denotes quality of the compositions included on a scale: very good, 1; excellent, 2; superb, 3; great, 4 (rare); obviously in ascending order.

In return for this monumental effort on my part, I would appreciate your printing a list of "Bach records to get" (in Notes & Asides)—featuring the best versions of the best werkes.

R. Drake
6880 White Oak Dr.
Miami Lakes, Fla. 33014

Dear Mr. Drake: Actually, I don't particularly like rock music. At least, I go months at a time without hearing it, and when I do hear it, it is by accident, and I enjoy it. But you whet my appetite, and I only regret there is no space to print your appended catalogue of individual records. . . . Re Bach, I am not a systematic collector, alas: I just gobble up everything that comes along. But here is a concrete hint. Something called Murray Hill Records, 419 Park Avenue South, New York has an album of 18 records—the Complete Keyboard Music of Bach on the Harpsichord, excellently done by Martin Galling. And you can get it for about $20. Get that album, and take it from there. Many thanks.

—WFB

■ Dear Mr. Buckley:

I don't see how you qualify to discuss things like the oil scarcity or high prices. Presumably these don't get in the way of your ski vacation in Switzerland: you make me sick.

A. L. Llevyleld
Los Angeles

Dear Mr. Llevyleld: The assassination of Caesar didn't get in my way but I can discuss it. And there is no way to get away from higher prices. They have risen in Switzerland more than in the U.S. During my "ski vacation," I wrote 24 columns, did television programs in Dublin, London, Johannesburg, Salisbury, Nairobi, and Dakar; did a documentary in South Africa; wrote a book on the United Nations; and answered 500 letters, most of them, happily, less unpleasant than your own.

—WFB

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The Statement made in the Senate Caucus Room March 19 by **James L. Buckley**

Why Richard Nixon Should Resign the Presidency

Washington—

FOR MONTHS now I have been struggling to sort out the deeper implications of what is so inadequately called the "Watergate affair," and to determine what I myself am called upon to do. As the result of a long and painful study, I now feel impelled by a duty to my country, to my constituents, and to my beliefs to state plainly the conclusions I have reached.

I do so with sorrow because I am a lifelong Republican who has worked actively for Richard Nixon. In 1972 I was co-chairman of the New York Committee to Reelect the President, and at the convention I gave one of the seconding speeches to his nomination. I saw in the decisive victory of November 1972 both the mandate and the opportunity to carry forth reforms of historic significance for the nation. Yet today, just 16 months later, it is my conviction that the President has been stripped of the ability to fulfill that mandate.

I speak out reluctantly because I know that what I have to say will bring pain and distress to many who are my good friends and who have been good to me, Richard Nixon numbered among them. I am, moreover, reluctant to provide any degree of satisfaction to those in and out of the media who have been exploiting the Watergate affair so recklessly. I speak of those who in their campaign for purity in government have made such wholesale use of slanderous gossip, violations of grand jury secrecy, leaks of confidential documents and meetings, and any other device they felt to be useful to their purpose. I shrink from offering the smallest aid and comfort to their attempt to use Watergate as one more means to subvert the decisive mandate of the 1972 election.

The stage has now been reached, however, at which Americans must come to terms with Watergate if Watergate is not to end up drowning all of us.

The Watergate affair can no longer be thought of as merely a troublesome episode such as occurs from time to time in the political history of every country. It had its faint origin in what was itself a trivial and foolish incident. But from this minor incident, as has often happened before in history, Watergate has expanded on a scale that has plunged our country into what historians call a "crisis of the regime." A crisis of the regime is not like a political confrontation or labor dispute or economic recession or any other specific and limited difficulty. A crisis of the regime is a disorder, a trauma, involving every tissue of the nation, conspicuously including its moral and spiritual dimensions.

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History would come to a stop for the duration of the impeachment trial—in the country and throughout the world. The ruler of the mightiest nation on earth would be starred as the prisoner in the dock

The outward signs of the depth of the crisis are obvious: the unparalleled downfall and departure of virtually the entire staff of the head of government; the formal initiation of impeachment proceedings; the confessions, indictments, and trials. I won't repeat the list of what all of us know much too well.

Yet at the very heart of the crisis are things which cannot so easily be listed, for they consist of felt truths which do not lend themselves to the confines of charts and graphs and polls and headlines. I speak of the spreading cynicism about those in public life and about the political process itself. I speak of the pervasive and undeniable sense of frustration and impotence that has become the dominant political mood in the nation. I speak of a perception of corruption that has effectively destroyed the President's ability to speak from a position of moral leadership. And I speak of the widespread conviction that Watergate and all that it has brought in its wake have done unique and perhaps irrevocable damage to our entire system of government.

It is in the nature of a usual crisis to swell and then recede; to reach a climax and then be resolved. But it is a peculiar feature of the Watergate crisis, as of some other major crises in history, that even as the months drag out into years it has shown no sign of receding. This in itself proves the profound significance of the crisis, far beyond the separate significance of the individual incidents that mark its career.

At every stage since the prelude in June of 1972, we have heard the prophecy: "Everything will soon blow over." And this was a reasonable prediction in the early months. As a rule the public attention span is not very long. Most things *do* blow over in a few months.

But with the Watergate affair, the situation has been profoundly different. Invariably, after a short lull some new, usually unexpected blow has made the crisis still more profound. The effect of the landslide reelection of Richard Nixon might have been presumed to push the whole affair permanently onto the sidelines. But as things turned out, it was the election that was pushed, quickly enough, onto the sidelines.

And now, all these long months prove to be mere prelude to what lies immediately ahead. The impeachment process has begun. The House will or will not vote articles of impeachment; but in neither case will action by the Congress bring an end to our national agony.

I don't think many of us have seriously considered what an impeachment trial would be like in the era of mass electronic communications. Public opinion would compel the proceedings to be televised. For three months or more the Senate Chamber would be transformed into a stage set for the greatest melodrama ever conceived. History would come to a stop for the duration—in the country and throughout the world. The ruler of the mightiest nation on earth would be starred as the prisoner in the dock. The Chamber would become a twentieth century Roman Colosseum, as the performers are thrown to the electronic lions. The most sordid dregs dug up by the Watergate miners would inflame the passions of the domestic audience and provoke the guffaws, prurient curiosity, or amazement of the outside world. The audience would hear those magical tapes in full—that could not be avoided. Not only the words directly relevant to charges at issue, but all the surrounding talk and epithets of tough, earthy men speaking as such men do in their supposedly private dialogue.

Can anyone imagine that *such* a trial could bring the nation back on an even keel and steady course; that it could fail to hurt the Presidency itself?

True, impeachment is established in the Constitution. Many argue therefrom that impeachment is the only proper procedure for dealing with alleged presidential dereliction. They say that the result of the impeachment action will clear up the Watergate affair one way or the other, pull the nation out of the crisis, and enable us to go constructively forward again. This is an illusion apparently shared by at least some people on all sides of the Watergate issue.

In the given circumstances, however, the impeachment process cannot possibly resolve the crisis. It can only exacerbate it still more, with reverberations that will be felt not only through 1976 but for many years beyond.

Suppose the House votes articles of impeachment and the Senate convicts. That result would leave a sizable, embittered, stubborn minority convinced that the media had hounded Richard Nixon out of office in order to upset the mandate of the 1972 vote and subvert what it believes to be the foundations of the Republic. On the other hand, suppose the House fails to impeach, or the Senate, judging a House-voted impeachment, fails to convict. With equal certainty that would leave a major segment of the constituency equally embittered and unreconciled, convinced that the Congress had placed political expediency above its duty. Does either outcome hold the slightest promise of domestic tranquility?

I propose an extraordinary act of statesmanship and courage—an act at once noble and heartbreaking. . . . That act is Richard Nixon's own voluntary resignation as President of the United States

There is one way and one way only by which the crisis can be resolved, and the country pulled out of the Watergate swamp. I propose an extraordinary act of statesmanship and courage—an act at once noble and heartbreaking; at once serving the greater interests of the nation, the institution of the Presidency, and the stated goals for which he so successfully campaigned. That act is Richard Nixon's own voluntary resignation as President of the United States.

Inevitably the President is the focus, the essence of the

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crisis of the regime; the linchpin of its entire structure. It could not be otherwise. The character of a regime always reflects and expresses the character of its leader. It is he who appoints his executive staff. If he does not explicitly command what his aides and agents do, they in any event do what they sense and believe he wants them to do. The captain is responsible for his ship, the commander for his army. And Mr. Nixon has explicitly recognized this responsibility.

If the President withdrew, this crisis would be resolved. Watergate scars would remain, of course. The debris would have to be cleaned up. There would still be many of the problems that have issued out of Watergate—not to mention the other mammoth problems our country faces.

But the organic, integrated, pervasive crisis of the regime would at once fall apart into separated elements.

Self-evidently, the impeachment process would end. Congress would be automatically discharged of the Watergate affair and could devote itself to its legislative business. A new President would be at the helm, with the capacity to inspire and to restrain the Congress; to reach out to the people with the restored authority and moral strength that is so essential an ingredient of the Presidency.

I realize that there is an argument against resignation, which might be best summed up in the injunction to "bear those ills we have, than fly to others that we know not of." To this argument I can only repeat that it is not given to us to be able to predict the future. But it is demanded of us that we obey the dictates of reason and conscience and this is what I have attempted to do. I cannot guarantee that the course I have recommended will bring our nation tranquility—but it will, most certainly, free our nation from the particular spiritual crisis that Watergate has made the central political fact of our time.

I think it is necessary to emphasize that my conclusion is based not on a reaction to any single incident or event but on what I see to be the cumulative effects of the entire affair. It is fruitless to argue that much of what has occurred in Watergate has occurred before and will in all probability occur again, human nature being what it is. What is important is the situation in which we, who bear the responsibility to ourselves and to the future as well as the past, find ourselves; a situation different not only in degree but in kind from any other in American history.

On this point I want to guarantee against misinterpretation. By proposing the President's resignation as the way and the only way to resolve the crisis, I do not in the least imply belief that he is legally guilty of any of the hundreds of charges brought against him by those sections of the media that have appointed themselves permanent grand juries and public prosecutors. My proposal reflects no personal judgment on the matter of guilt or innocence, for I have made none.

Nor do I propose Richard Nixon's resignation as a retreat by him, or as in any way acknowledging either guilt or weakness. Richard Nixon's resignation now—before any irreversible action takes place in the impeachment process—would be, and should be, a free, positive, and magnanimous act on his part. It would be an act of sacrifice for the achievement of the goals that he has proclaimed.

He would be succeeded by a man of his own choice; and one, most importantly, who is free of any connection whatever with the entire Watergate affair. Gerald Ford upholds the policies for which the electorate overwhelmingly voted in November 1972. Therefore his installation would be in no way a repudiation of the electoral mandate. Rather, it would reaffirm those goals, which have been forgotten or neglected or defeated in the Watergate shambles; and it would offer a much more favorable chance of realizing them than is possible while the crisis continues.

I am deeply aware, of course, that in recent weeks Richard Nixon has found several occasions to say that he must

My proposal reflects no personal judgment on the matter of guilt or innocence, for I have made none

defend the office of the President, and that he therefore should not resign because that would weaken the office. But precisely the opposite is the case. In order to preserve the Presidency, Richard Nixon must resign as President. If future Presidents are to carry out their grave responsibilities in the free and unfettered manner President Nixon desires, they must be able to inherit an office that has not been irrevocably weakened by a long, slow, agonizing, inch-by-inch process of attrition. As it now stands, the office of the President is in danger of succumbing to the death of a thousand cuts. The only way to save it is for the current President to resign, leaving the office free to defend itself with a new incumbent.

Mr. Nixon also argues that it would be destructive of the office for a President to be hounded out of office because he happens to have a low rating in the polls. In normal circumstances I would agree. But we have in the present case a qualitative difference that hinges not on the *fact* of a low rating but on the *reasons* for that rating. The President's current rating in the polls does not reflect a dissatisfaction with one, or two, or a dozen specific issues. Rather it reflects a cumulative loss of faith that has eroded his credibility and moral authority; a loss that, in my judgment, is beyond repair. This goes to the heart of the crisis of regime that is unique to Watergate.

Finally, there is the fact that the office of the President is not the only institution for which we must be concerned. We need a strong President now as well as in the future. We need the balance wheel that alone can be provided by a President able to exercise the full authority of his office, or we run the risk of a runaway Congress that could commit us to new and dangerous programs from which we may never be able to extricate ourselves. But there is little point in protecting the office of the President if at the same time irreparable damage is done to the Republic as we have known it.

I do not doubt that, as he sees and judges his own conduct, Richard Nixon has acted throughout this time of troubles for what he believed to be the well-being of his country. I hope and pray he will realize that the greatest and culminating action he can now take for his country is the renunciation of the world's highest office. His countrymen and the historians of the future, I feel sure, would judge that action in terms of the courage, patriotism, and self-sacrifice it would so dramatically display. □

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Commentaries

I. THE NEWS STORIES

But the Nixon effort has failed to halt the momentum building on Capitol Hill for his ouster, as Senator Buckley's resignation call demonstrates. Until yesterday, the only other Republican senator to call openly for the President to quit had been Senator Edward Brooke of Massachusetts, who is well out on the party's liberal wing. The conservative Mr. Buckley's statement thus bracketed the GOP's ideological spectrum, making it harder than ever for the White House to portray the President as a victim of scheming by liberal politicians and the press.

Wall Street Journal, March 20

There is simply no doubting Senator James L. Buckley's conservative credentials.

Thus, conservatives everywhere were jolted to attention last week when Buckley called for the President's resignation—becoming the first solidly right wing figure in the Senate to break ranks on the issue. The support of conservatives of both parties is essential to Mr. Nixon if he is to survive his Watergate ordeal. While no one else followed Buckley's lead last week, his move might make it easier for conservatives and moderates alike to turn from the President in the days to come. . . . Those who expected Mr. Nixon to implement a conservative program after his 1972 landslide, however, agreed with Buckley that Watergate has undone their chance. A few, at least, went along with a call for resignation. "It is your attitudes toward government that have been discredited," Washington State Attorney General Slade Gorton told a conservative group. "It is your policies which are increasingly being defeated." And Gorton said resignation would be "the finest service which Mr. Nixon can perform for his country."

Newsweek, April 1

Resignation, said Buckley, would not be an admission of guilt, but "an extraordinary act of statesmanship and courage . . . at once noble and heartbreaking." That hurt, as the White House openly conceded—especially when Barry Goldwater, the acknowledged leader of the Right, issued the tepid announcement that he couldn't go along with Buckley "at this time." And privately, **Newsweek**'s Samuel Shaffer learned, Goldwater told Buckley that he would like to second his motion—and would have but for his old and close ties with the President.

Buckley's defection was thus a kind of portent—"a hand on the doorknob," one Republican strategist called it—and the cloakrooms on Capitol Hill were increasingly infected with the gloomy sense that impeachment has become inevitable. "It's a juggernaut," said New York Senator Jacob Javits. "It can't be stopped." The House Judiciary Committee was considered a sure bet to vote a bill of impeachment to the floor; the full House seemed increasingly likely to pass along the problem, voting for a trial in the Senate. . . . If there was any consolation for a weary and heartsore nation, it was that the long Watergate ordeal has proved again the strength of the country's basic institutions. . . . The process was painful, but there was little question that the democratic "system" was indeed intact—and working.

Newsweek, April 1

The call for Nixon to resign was issued by Conservative-Republican Senator James Buckley, who was co-chairman of his 1972 reelection campaign in New York. It was the first complete break by a leading conservative—and it was a blow to Nixon's efforts to hang on to the hard-core support that would give him the one-third-plus-one vote in the Senate needed to block any effort to remove him from office. Buckley's eloquent statement was overdrawn in describing the terrors of a Senate trial of the President and sugarcoated in its acceptance of the notion that Nixon's Watergate problems were being pursued only by critics to overturn the 1972 election results. But it was a sound assessment of the practical realities of Nixon's current situation, and it rocked Republicans.

Time, April 1

Senate Republican leader Hugh Scott is seething too.

He continues to express confidence in the President and in his innocence. But he is known to feel that the President's continued battle over divulging Watergate-related information is, each day, adding to the travails of Republicans in Congress and Republicans who are running for office this year across the nation.

Republican Senate Whip Robert P. Griffin is pictured by those close around him as being ready for Vice President Gerald R. Ford to take over the Presidency—right now.

Christian Science Monitor, March 21

Mention of the name of Senator Jacob K. Javits (R., N.Y.), the perennial arch foe of [Serphin] Maltese's [Conservative] party, brought begrudging admiration. "He's an astute politician," Maltese said. "Once again, he wants to be all things to all people. He's managed to stay securely on the fence." . . . Javits took sharp issue with his colleague. The senior Senator, considered a liberal, took a politically more moderate stand in Washington yesterday, calling on the House to move ahead with impeachment proceedings. As for resignation, Javits said: "It may be Senator Buckley's bag. It's not my bag—at this time." . . . Actually, no Republican, Democrat, or Conservative politician said he could figure what political value Buckley might derive from his proclamation. Buckley's term does not expire until 1976.

Newsday, March 24

Senator Buckley supported President Nixon on 70 per cent of key Nixon-issue roll calls in 1973, and opposed the President only 14 per cent of the time. The Senator has taken what he regards as moral stances on many issues, to the surprise of his colleagues. His moral opposition, for example, has led him to oppose operating subsidies for mass transit in New York City, although the Democratic city government and Republican state government have beseeched Washington for funds. In another area, his opposition to pork barrel public works projects led him to oppose such projects for New York, a position virtually unheard of in Congress.

Mr. Buckley's proposal stunned Capitol Hill.

New York Times, March 20

Senator Buckley's statement came as much of Capitol Hill was beginning to presume that a vote by the House to impeach the President was no longer unthinkable and was perhaps even likely.

The Senator from New York said he was reluctant to speak out because he did not wish to give "the smallest aid and comfort" to those in the media who, in his view, had been trying to use Watergate to "subvert the decisive mandate of the 1972 election." Even

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so, it was Mr. Buckley who declared yesterday that "the President has been stripped of the ability to fulfill that mandate" and thus his words may echo across the country more reasonably than any comments from Mr. Nixon's critics.

New York Times, March 21

Privately, however, several conservative congressmen expressed the feeling that the President may be offering too little, too late to salvage his support among conservatives. One Eastern conservative said that the President "has thrown us a bone or two, but that isn't going to change what happens on impeachment."

"Senator Buckley said something a great many of us feel but don't want to say," said this House member. "The only thing that bothers me about resignation is that I believe in orderly procedure. But it may be the easiest way out."

Washington Post, March 21

Q: How do you feel in your soul about doing this to the leader of your party, you a lifelong Republican?

Buckley: As I said, this is the most difficult decision that I have ever had to make and I have no misconceptions as to the pain it is going to cause others and me, frankly, the static I am going to receive, but I think that in the last analysis we are all here to serve not our own interests, not our 'druthers, but the interests of the nation as we see it. It has been a painful conclusion to draw and I dislike contributing in the slightest degree to the unhappiness or discomfort of the President, but if my conclusions are sound, and I believe them to be, then I need to state them.

James L. Buckley
Press Conference, March 19

II. THE POLITICIANS

I accept the statement as that of a very conscientious and honorable senator.

Senator Hugh Scott, Minority Leader
Newsday, March 20

I don't agree with his conclusions, [but] it's difficult to disagree with a great deal of what he said.

Senator William Brock (R., Tenn.)

I have great respect for Senator Buckley, but I do not agree with him that the President should resign. This is now being investigated by the House, and this is the proper procedure in a matter of this kind.

Senator Strom Thurmond (R., S.C.)

Everyone is entitled to his own opinion on all subjects. Senator Buckley has stated his opinion with respect to resignation of the President. I do not share his opinion.

Governor Malcolm Wilson of N.Y., R.
All quoted in the **New York Post**, March 20

Senator Buckley's statement calling for the President's resignation is certainly a serious and important development in the unfolding Watergate situation. It comes from a senator who has been a great supporter of the President—for example Senator Buckley has supported all but one of the President's vetoes voted on in the Senate since January 1973 and voted against the override of the War Powers Resolution veto—while I have cast my votes to override. When this record is coupled with Senator Buckley's obvious concern about the reliability of the Congress, which he expresses not once but twice in his statement, I can understand his position—it comes properly from him and is a courageous stand for him to take. . . .

I believe it better for the Presidency as an institution that its incumbent have the opportunity to respond under the Constitution. . . . Much as I deprecate the necessity for it, I am not afraid for our country of impeachment and trial. I believe the Congress will be fair, that our constitutional process will stand up and that . . . our country will emerge stronger and more dedicated to its ideals of freedom and peace than ever before.

Senator Jacob Javits
New York Times, March 24

This personal decision by a very able and respected colleague is bound to have a profound impact. I shall have no further comment at this time.

Senator Robert Griffin, Minority Whip

While I can fully understand the feeling of Senator Buckley and that of any Republican official seeking reelection [Mr. Buckley will run again in 1976], I believe that two questions arise when it comes to asking for the resignation of President Nixon. The first question is whether the American concept of fair play would be negated. The second [is a possible precedent] whereby any man in the White House who was philosophically unacceptable to certain politicians and segments of the media might be forced to resign. . . . If any evidence of criminal acts on the part of the President is proven I will change my position and support the Buckley proposal.

Senator Barry Goldwater,
as quoted in the **New York Times**, March 20

A source close to Domenici [Sen. Pete, R., N.M.], a conservative friendly to Buckley and who counseled the Senator before the New Yorker made his announcement today, declared "You're damn right" when asked whether Capitol Hill Republicans were moving as far away from the President as they could.

New York Daily News, March 20

If the President is guilty, then I agree with Senator Buckley that Mr. Nixon should resign. But if Mr. Nixon is innocent, as he claims to be, I feel it would be destructive to the long-range best interests of the country for him to yield to the rising clamor.

Senator Jesse Helms (R., N.C.),
as quoted in the **Wall Street Journal**, March 20

What Buckley has done is pull a plug on the President's most important political reservoir. It doesn't mean that all the water will flow out. It does mean that conservatives will reassess whether the issues they care most about can be served by continued support for President Nixon.

Howard Phillips, of the ACU,
as quoted in the **Washington Post**, March 21

III. COLUMNISTS & COMMENTATORS

Other national conservative leaders respectfully disagree. Governor Ronald Reagan of California, for one, feels that it would be unfortunate if Nixon quit now, while a formal impeachment inquiry is under way and before the issue of culpability is resolved one way or another. Let the inquiry go forward, Reagan argues; let the chips fall where they may. The Constitution prescribes the machinery for a President's impeachment and removal, and the nation is well able to stand the strain of its use. If Nixon is ultimately removed, so be it. If not—if impeachment fails—then that will be the time to decide whether his ability to lead has nevertheless been damaged beyond repair, and whether resignation—with honor, after vindication—would indeed be an act of high statesmanship.

William A. Rusher
Universal Press Syndicate

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The Buckley bombshell demonstrates that Mr. Nixon cannot get by merely on the strength of crowd-pleasing appearances out of town.

To stave off the forces now gathering against him, Mr. Nixon is going to have to do the one thing he has so far refused to do. He is going to have to address himself in detail and candor to the highly specific charges which have caused even his closest supporters to wonder whether he isn't guilty of such undoubted criminal acts as obstruction of justice.

Joseph Kraft
Washington Post, March 21

The powerful statement issued today by Senator Buckley of New York is a serious blow to the President's hopes of staving off impeachment or resignation. . . . As Senator Buckley says, the usual crisis swells then recedes. Watergate does not and will not. He does not ask the President to resign now because he necessarily believes he will be impeached, but because the country ought not be put through the agony of impeachment and trial. Mr. Buckley does not see resolution and healing by that process. He foresees a big embittered minority, convinced Mr. Nixon had been hounded out by the media. And if there's no impeachment and conviction, he foresees another embittered segment of the people, convinced the Congress had failed its duty. As for the President himself, there's not the slightest evidence he will heed the Buckley advice.

Eric Sevareid
CBS Evening News, March 20

Contrary to some of the cloakroom gossip, Buckley's press conference plea for Nixon to resign in "an extraordinary act of statesmanship and courage" was not part of a Republican leadership scenario, but the lone act of a troubled man of principle and conscience.

What drew increasing attention today to the Buckley position paper was the Senator's dread of, and doubt about, the impact on the nation's welfare of a trial of the President before the Senate, and Buckley's plea that the agonies of an impeachment drama be avoided.

Well, the country has survived worse, and, on the face of it, the impeachment provision was written into the Constitution to meet precisely such a situation as now prevails.

Jerry Greene
New York Daily News, March 21

Senator James Buckley is no longer thought of here as "Bill's brother" or the "third senator from Connecticut." Last week, he became "Benedict Arnold" Buckley to three out of four callers immediately after he torpedoed Nixon. But he is also "Bombshell" Buckley to the local dopesters, a suddenly potent candidate for reelection in 1976 and no pushover for John Lindsay or anyone else. They predict he'll win back all the Catholic conservatives who are goddamning him now, and come into the '76 campaign with a far, far better chance than he has ever had before.

Meanwhile, back in Washington, our man tells us that "Bombshell" Buckley expects three more conservative-style senators to drop a load on Nixon in the near future.

Michael Kramer
New York, April 1

Senator Buckley used language skillfully to create the image of a President innocent of criminal acts, a man essentially victimized by others. But Buckley's whole performance in the cavernous Senate Caucus Room spoke something quite the opposite, something that members of Congress until now have only dared mutter among themselves. . . . The growing reality of this has made a lot of important people come face to face with themselves and consider their own place in the history now being written.

Hugh Sidey
Newsweek, April 1

In his call for resignation Mr. Buckley . . . distrusts the ability of Congress and the American people to cope with impeachment. . . . For once Mr. Buckley is underestimating the fortitude of conservatives.

Most conservatives faced the gloomy facts about Mr. Nixon long ago and withdrew their support. The 27 per cent of the population that "approves" of Mr. Nixon's conduct of office is not a conservative bloc. It is largely an inattentive bloc of people who support Presidents, no matter who, no matter what.

George F. Will
Washington Post Syndicate, March 22

Beyond all the arguments over the past, over impeachment and the definitions of impeachment, the corrective impulses . . . surface in the protest and conscience of a single man, like Senator Buckley of New York. His logic was fuzzy but his character was true. Sometimes they come out of the instincts of a judge like John Sirica or the periodic outbursts of a natural, decent man like Senator Goldwater. But mainly the skeptical wisdom of the Founding Fathers, who understood the frailty of human nature, has come to bear on the present conflict between the Presidency, the legislature, and the courts.

James Reston
New York Times, March 22

If Buckley's contention represented only his own appraisal of Nixon's predicament, his declaration today would not be such a serious blow to the President's ability to survive.

What makes Buckley's call for resignation so ominous for Nixon is the fact that his remarks bring out in the open, in a very dramatic way, what an increasing number of Republican House members and senators have only been whispering about in recent weeks.

James Wieghart
New York Daily News, March 20

Richard Nixon is under attack by an even more formidable combination: not only the Nixon-haters of old but former supporters who want to unhitch their wagons from a falling star, as well as conservatives like Senator James Buckley, concerned about the nation's safety and moral climate.

William Safire
New York Times, March 21

Since the Watergate affair broke up 11 months ago, President Nixon has taken blow after blow. He has been sustained in his ordeal by three things.

One, the support of a solid core of conservative Republicans, estimated at 25 per cent of the voters, who have seemed prepared to stay with him no matter what.

Two, from that base he has been able, in appearances like the one in Houston tonight, to appeal to enough undecided independents to deprive those favoring impeachment of a majority.

Three, he has his own tough fiber.

Senator Buckley's defection today endangers two of those supports. As one of the staunchest of conservatives, he is the first sign the solid core may be crumbling at the edges. Note that Senator Goldwater said that he would not join Buckley "at this moment."

Next, those independents have opposed impeachment lest it turn out to be a liberal gang-up on the President which could produce a backlash in the future. It is reasonable to think some of them may turn, now that a leading conservative is saying what liberals have said.

That leaves one support intact: the President's inner toughness. It is considerable, but it will have to bear a

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heavier burden in the face of Buckley's defection—which may prove not just another blow, but a quantum jump in the force of blows.

Howard K. Smith
Commentary ABC,
March 19

Richard Nixon has often said that he is at his best when under great pressure. . . . In his appearance at Houston, Texas, he did it again.

That same morning he had been hit with the request of Senator James Buckley of New York that he resign for the good of the country, and even White House aides were admitting that this was a serious blow. . . . Here was the attractive, intelligent, and universally respected Senator from New York politely but firmly asking him to step down. Very bad news. . . . When he turned, as was inevitable, to the Buckley question he made the best of his own very weak position. It would change our form of government, he said, if a President were to resign because of low standing in the polls. Some of the wisest policy decisions made by Presidents had been unpopular ones, and a President had to be willing to live with a low standing in the polls. The point is beyond challenge. . . . That is about the best anyone in Nixon's position could do at this juncture, but Buckley's position went unmet. The President does not have a low standing in the polls because he has made some unpopular policy decision. As a matter of fact, if it were a question of policy, Nixon enjoys wide support. Many of his policies are popular. He is not in the position of urging some wise but temporarily resisted domestic or foreign initiative. He is unpopular because most people think that he has been at the center of massive corruption and illegality.

Jeffrey Hart
King Features, March 25

IV. THE EDITORIALS

[But] the Buckley position is that "perception of corruption" has already "effectively destroyed the President's ability to speak from a position of moral leadership." Resignation by Mr. Nixon would not weaken the Presidency, in this view, but open the way to keeping it strong. . . . It is not surprising for a conservative like Senator Buckley to perceive the difference between the institution and the man. If the office suffers through Mr. Nixon's association with it, so does conservatism insofar as it is identified with Mr. Nixon. . . .

Christian Science Monitor, March 21

According to the conventional political form charts, Senator James Buckley might have been expected to remain a last-ditch supporter of Richard Nixon while Senator Jack Javits led the drive for the President's resignation. Instead it was Buckley who startled the country on Tuesday by urging Nixon to step down, and 24 hours later Javits was dissociating himself from the stand of his Senate colleague. . . . Unlike Buckley, we believe the case against Nixon is overwhelming. That is why, unlike Javits, we believe there is compelling reason for resignation now.

New York Post, March 22

There can be little comfort for Nixon loyalists in the New York Republican's assurance that he does not consider the President "legally guilty of any of the hundreds of charges brought against him" by sections of the media. A man of Senator Buckley's strong views would hardly have added his voice to the bipartisan call for the President's resignation if he were not convinced that Mr. Nixon has seriously abused his mandate and his office.

By any valid yardstick of executive responsibility, Mr. Nixon has demeaned the Presidency. Senator Buckley's call for resignation now is clearly an appeal to the conscience of his own party to exercise its special responsibility to press for restoration of the integrity of American government.

New York Times, March 20

People will say that Senator Buckley has been uncommonly courageous and forthright in making his statement—and in a particular and sharply limited way this is true. For there can be no doubt that the New York Conservative-Republican Senator has risked the ire of those constituents who do not believe that Richard Nixon should leave office in any fashion before his term is up and who do not believe he should even be subjected to official inquiry into his acts. Yet we expect it would and conceivably will take far more courage from Senator Buckley and his likeminded colleagues to see the constitutionally prescribed process of impeachment through.

Washington Post, March 20

The Senator has taken a long time, as he says, to arrive at his decision, and he has arrived very late in the day. For the ramifications of Watergate have gone too far, the intimations of the President's guilt have grown too deep to be resolved now by a simple, detergent act of resignation. It might be an easy copout for the President; it could scarcely be that for the country. . . . Buckley to the contrary, neither Congress nor the rest of the country would be "automatically discharged" of such debilitating preoccupations were the President to step down. . . .

Newsday (Long Island), March 20

Senator Buckley is urging the President to retreat to the mountaintop and decide it would be best for the Republic if he resigned. One can argue whether this would indeed be the best decision; certainly Mr. Nixon is a handicap to many of the ideas Mr. Buckley shares with these columns. On the other hand, in his arguments about restoring tranquility, Mr. Buckley seems to long for a state of bliss unlikely to ensue. . . . Perhaps it would be nice if Mr. Nixon in the depths of his soul decided it would be best for the nation if he resigned, but who can presume to direct the depths of Mr. Nixon's soul? . . .

Wall Street Journal, March 21

Neither President Nixon nor Senator Buckley has examined a rather slippery assumption that lies back of the President's argument. In effect, Senator Buckley's neglect gives Mr. Nixon the advantage of restricting the discussion of the defense of the office of President to Mr. Nixon's own ground. Though even on that terrain Senator Buckley's reasoning wins out over Mr. Nixon's too palpably self-serving appeal.

The President is assuming and the Senator not challenging that we all agree on the desirability of "a strong Presidency." But do we, in truth, if we think about it? And granted we do, **how** strong? . . . We do indeed need in these parlous times a strong office of the Presidency, and a strong individual occupying the office. But we should not forget that a government in which the Executive office has become too strong is no longer a republic but a despotism, and the individual who occupies the office, then, a despot.

There is a simple test by which the citizen of a republic can determine how strong he wants the office of the head of government to be: by imagining it to be occupied by one with views and policies the opposite of his own. How strong, for example, would Republicans like the office of President to be if Edward Kennedy takes it over in 1976?

National Review Bulletin,
April 5

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LETTER FROM WASHINGTON

Among the items of information that Special Prosecutor Leon Jaworski is seeking from the White House, and that the White House is refusing to surrender, is information that Jaworski thinks might suggest that the Nixon Administration "sold" ambassadorships in exchange for large campaign contributions. Mr. Nixon's former personal lawyer, Herbert Kalmbach, last month pleaded guilty to the charge of having promised an ambassadorship to a cousin of Senator Stuart Symington (D., Mo.) in exchange for a $100,000 campaign contribution. This is one charge regarding which the Nixon Administration's supporters are justified in saying that "the rules have been changed": no one thinks the Nixon Administration is the first one guilty of selling ambassadorships.

■ George Bush, Republican National Chairman, reports that GOP county chairmen believe "honesty in government" (Watergate) will be, at most, the third most important issue in this fall's elections. The cost of living will be first, the energy crisis second. Seventeen per cent of the county leaders insist that Watergate will not hurt Republican candidates at all. Another 31 per cent think it will hurt, but only a little bit. Only 11 per cent say Watergate will hurt candidates in their area "a great deal." . . . Republican county chairmen also have been polled regarding their current choice for the 1976 GOP presidential nomination, and it is Ronald Reagan by a length and a half. Reagan is the choice of 39 per cent, a remarkable 15 points ahead of Gerald Ford, second with 24 per cent support. Others: Nelson Rockefeller, 12 per cent; John Connally, 7 per cent; Barry Goldwater, 6 per cent; Elliot Richardson, 4 per cent; Charles Percy, 3 per cent; Howard Baker, 2 per cent; Mark Hatfield and James Buckley, 1 per cent.

■ Outgoing Treasury Secretary George Shultz has made a suggestion much overdue and so sensible that it probably will go nowhere. While congressional liberals are clamoring for a tax cut to stimulate consumer spending, Shultz is advocating changing the personal income tax withholding schedules. Currently the Federal Government is overwithholding $6 billion from the taxpayers each year. That is, it is extracting an interest free loan from the average taxpayer. Rewriting the withhold schedules would increase the take home pay of the average worker.

■ The Democratic Party's "reformers" —otherwise known as the "New Politics" people; formerly known as McGovernites—are rolling along, and rolling over the "regulars," properly known as the Jacksonites. In two crucial votes at the recent meeting of the Democratic Charter Commission, the reformers got their way in insisting on mandatory "midterm conferences"—miniconventions between nominating conventions —and a "judicial council" to resolve party disputes. The "regulars" are afraid the council will be dominated by reformers, and that the midterm conferences will be an occasion for fratricidal bickering about esoteric issues—like, maybe, "acid, amnesty, and abortion."

■ Internal Revenue Commissioner Donald C. Alexander says there is no evidence that the controversy about Mr. Nixon's tax avoidance has triggered aggressive tax avoidance on the part of the average taxpayer. He says the average refund is not significantly above last year, and an increase would be a sign of a "taxpayer's revolt."

■ News from Britain—where a coal miners' strike led to a change of government—and the current talk about the new importance of coal, and the recent wildcat strike of 26,000 miners in West Virginia, may lead to a miners' strike in the United States this fall when existing contracts expire.

■ Tobacco-chewing Attorney General William Saxbe likes to say he is just a country boy. But now he has a redecorated office that cost $24,000—enough to keep a country boy content. Included is the cost of putting in a gold rug to replace the $900 blue rug installed less than a year ago by Attorney General Elliot Richardson.

■ BRIEFS: The Department of Housing and Urban Development is a soft touch loan shark. It is now spending a tidy $2 billion—that's *billion*, not million—to pay for defaults on federally insured mortagages. . . . The B-1 bomber and the F-15 fighter plane projects are going to cost $2.7 billion more than was expected the last time an unexpected cost increase was announced. The Pentagon says inflation is to blame. Congress is apt to put pressure on the Pentagon to go find substitute weapons systems. . . . Congress soon will put into final form a minimum wage bill that will bring seven million more workers under minimum wage coverage, and will drive the minimum wage up to $2.30 an hour by 1976. In his weakened condition Mr. Nixon will not bother vetoing this bill. His veto of a similar bill was sustained last autumn —but Mr. Nixon is much weaker now. . . . If at second try you don't succeed, try again. Wayne Morse served 24 years in the Senate, until 1968, when Bob Packwood beat him by 3,300 votes. He wanted to oppose Republican Senator Mark Hatfield's reelection in 1972 but couldn't generate enough support. Now Morse, 73, says he will run against Packwood this year. . . . Big Brother, having buckled you up, is now going to bag you in. Not content with mandatory safety belts in cars, the Federal Government has decreed that all automobiles sold in the United States after September 1, 1976 must be equipped with "air bags" that will explode out of the dash board when—it is hoped *only* when—a car is in a crash. . . . One of those 17 wiretaps authorized by Mr. Nixon for "national security" purposes—the tap on former Kissinger aide Morton Halperin—produced information about Edmund Muskie's presidential campaign. This is not surprising, considering the fact that Halperin was working for Muskie during part of the period when the wiretap was ordered for "national security" purposes. . . . Anyone who has a yen for collecting, and $12 million, can buy the 4.8 billion gasoline rationing coupons the Federal Government printed, and has now put into storage. . . . And the Maurice H. Stans Award for Distinguished Federal Financial Management appears no more in official documents. The award was instituted in 1971 when Stans was Secretary of Commerce, before he became Finance Chairman of the Reelect Committee. Government being government the award is still there but the name has been changed. —CATO

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TV siphoning. A free program is taken away. Then you buy it back...if you can.

Cable Pay TV entrepreneurs think siphoning is a marvelous idea. They would outbid broadcasters for popular movies and sports programs you now see free—and then sell them back to you.

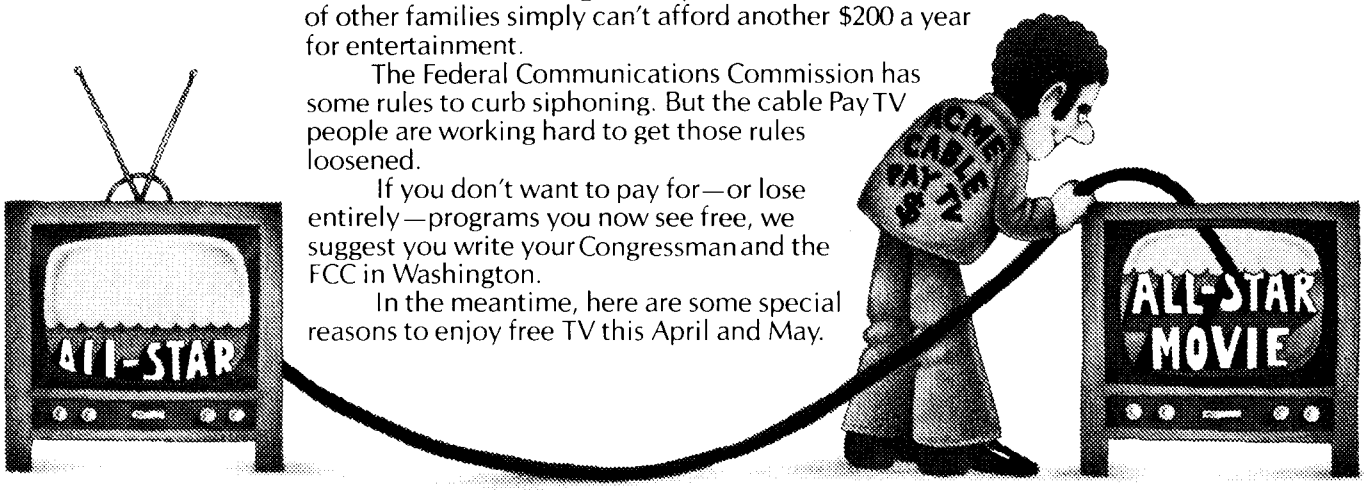
For most people, such Pay TV siphoning would black-out many of their favorite programs.

More than half the families in the country will be beyond the reach of Pay TV cables, because the cost of bringing cable to their homes is too high to be profitable. And millions of other families simply can't afford another $200 a year for entertainment.

The Federal Communications Commission has some rules to curb siphoning. But the cable Pay TV people are working hard to get those rules loosened.

If you don't want to pay for—or lose entirely—programs you now see free, we suggest you write your Congressman and the FCC in Washington.

In the meantime, here are some special reasons to enjoy free TV this April and May.



The Movies. (Part II) Traces history of American cinema. Monday, April 1 (9-11 pm).

Academy Awards. Cinema's outstanding efforts. Tuesday, April 2 (10 pm-midnight).

Clerow Wilson's Great Escape. Flip Wilson character in series of animated misadventures. Wednesday, April 3 (8-8:30 pm).

Crown Matrimonial. Drama based on 1936 abdication of King Edward VIII starring Greer Garson, Peter Barkworth, Anna Cropper. Wednesday, April 3 (8:30-10 pm).

NBC News Presents: Special Edition. Three Nobel Prize scientists probe cancer research. Wednesday, April 3 (10-11 pm).

Portrait: A Man Whose Name Was John. Raymond Burr in dramatic incident in life of Pope John XXIII. Friday, April 5 (10-11 pm).

Marshall Efron's Illustrated, Simplified and Painless Sunday School. Story of Passover; Easter and Spring. Sundays, April 7, 21 (10-10:30 am).

The Story of Jacob and Joseph. Drama based on biblical story starring Colleen Dewhurst, Keith Michell, Herschel Bernardi. Narrated by Alan Bates. Sunday, April 7 (8:30-10:30 pm).

Women of the Year, 1974. Honors to outstanding women. Monday, April 8 (10-11 pm).

It's the Easter Beagle, Charlie Brown. Tuesday, April 9 (8-8:30 pm).

Harlequin. Original ballet based on *commedia dell'arte* character choreographed and danced by Edward Villella, with Patricia McBride as Columbine. Wednesday, April 10 (3:30-4:30 pm).

The Greatest Story Ever Told. The story of Christ with Max Von Sydow, Sidney Poitier, Angela Lansbury, Charlton Heston, Dorothy McGuire, Shelley Winters. Friday, April 12; Saturday, April 13 (9-11 pm).

What Is Impeachment All About? Impeachment procedures explained to young people. Saturday, April 13 (1-1:30 pm).

The First Woman President. Story of how Mrs. Woodrow Wilson virtually took over reins of Presidency when her husband suffered stroke. Starring Eva Marie Saint, Richard Basehart. Sunday, April 14 (9:30-10:30 pm).

Tony Awards. The best of Broadway. Sunday, April 21 (9-11 pm).

The Yanks are Coming. The American Heritage—Story of doughboy in World War I taken from his diaries and people who knew him. Monday, April 22 (8-9 pm).

Larry. GE Theater—Factual account of man who spent most of his life in a mental institution. Tuesday, April 23 (9:30-11 pm).

The Presidency. The American Parade—Traces history of nation's highest office. Wednesday, April 24 (8-9 pm).

Wedding Band. ABC Theatre—Alice Childress play starring Ruby Dee. Wednesday, April 24 (9-11 pm).

The Paper Prison: Your Government Records. ABC News Closeup. Thursday, April 25 (10-11 pm).

Wild Science. Developments in quest for scientific knowledge. Narrated by Peter Falk. Friday, April 26 (8-9 pm).

Love from A to Z. Liza Minnelli and Charles Aznavour blend talents. Tuesday, April 30 (10-11 pm).

The Hollywood Bowl. ABC Afterschool Special—World of music via animation and live action. Wednesday, May 1 (4:30-5:30 pm).

The Incredible Flight of the Snow Geese. Glen Campbell narrates naturalist film. Monday, May 6 (8-9 pm).

Duty Bound. NBC Religious Special—Courtroom drama about amnesty. Sunday, May 26 (4:30-5:30 pm).

Emmy Awards. Television's top performers and programs. Tuesday, May 28 (12 noon-1:30 pm—Daytime awards); (9-11 pm—Major awards).

Pursuit of Youth. Examines costs of quest for youth. Thursday, May 30 (10-11 pm).

Art Thefts. ABC News Closeup—Look at the international art heist business. May. TBA.

REGULARLY SCHEDULED PROGRAMS

Monday through Friday: Sunrise Semester/CBS Morning News/The Today Show/Captain Kangaroo/Sesame Street/Mister Rogers' Neighborhood/Electric Company

Saturday: In the News/Multiplication-Grammar Rock/Yogi's Gang/Super Friends/Emergency + 4/Fat Albert and the Cosby Kids/GO/CBS Children's Film Festival/ABC Wide World of Sports/Reasoner Report

Sunday: In the News/Multiplication-Grammar Rock/Kid Power/Lamp Unto My Feet/Look Up and Live/Camera Three/Make a Wish/Face the Nation/Meet the Press/Directions/Issues and Answers/60 Minutes/The Wonderful World of Disney/Masterpiece Theatre/NBC News Special Edition

Note: This is, necessarily, a partial listing. Time (NYT), titles and casts of these national programs are subject to change. Please consult your station listings; check also for noteworthy local programs.

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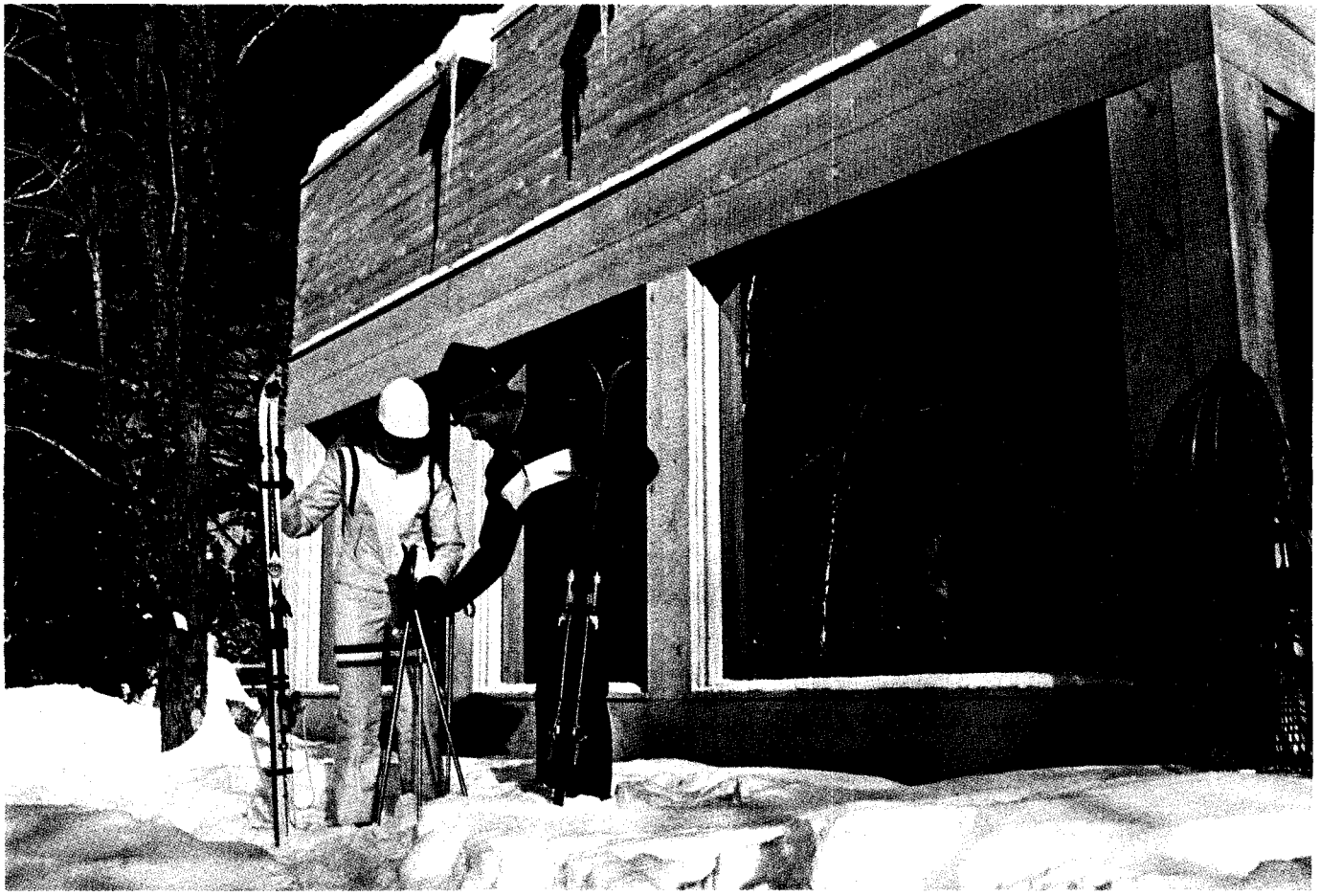
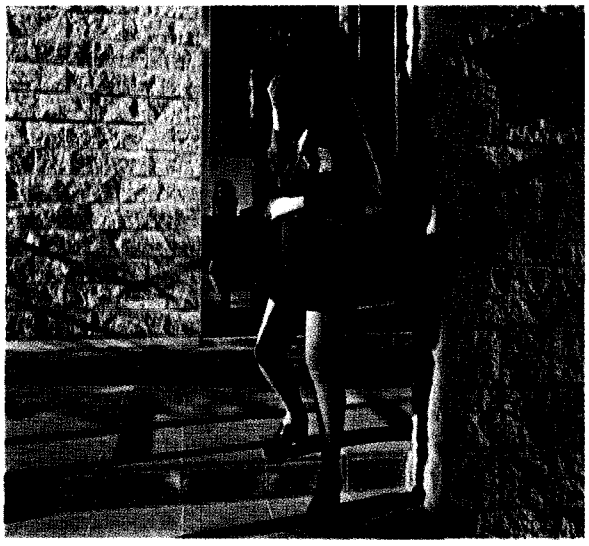
Minnesota residence. Architect: Martin F. Gould





The Silver State Building, Las Vegas, Nev. Architect: Leo F. Borns. Owner: Disposal Investments, Inc.

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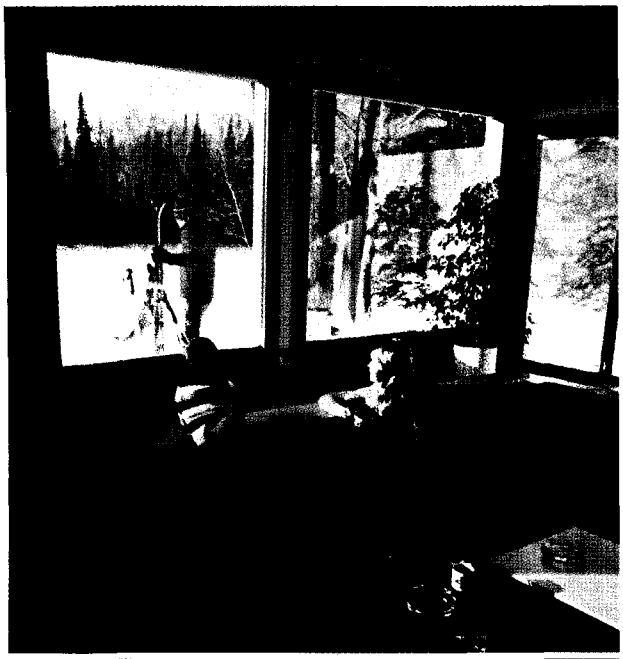

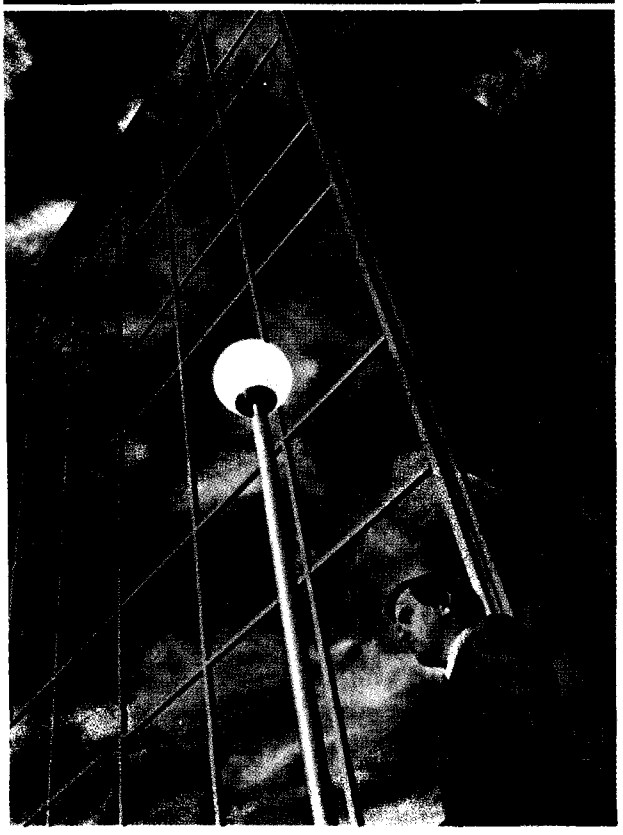

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Drip, Drip, Drip

JUST THE other day Dale Anderson, 57, was convicted on 32 counts of extortion, conspiracy, and tax evasion. Mr. Anderson is not a national figure, but, then, how many Baltimore County Executives become household words? But Mr. Anderson will merit a footnote in the history books. The investigation of corruption in Baltimore County that was first aimed at him stumbled, quite by accident, upon the trail of corruption that led into the office of Mr. Anderson's predecessor as County Executive, Spiro Agnew.

The conviction of Mr. Anderson reveals just how, well, *mature* our current crop of scandals has become. We are in the fifth scene of the fourth act and the final curtain is not about to fall. But already we have in hand some exegeses-cum-histories of the earlier acts. For example, there is a gripping new study of one scene. The study is a useful book by two *Washington Post* reporters, Richard Cohen and Jules Witcover, *A Heartbeat Away: The Investigation and Resignation of Vice President Spiro T. Agnew*.

So raise your eyes for a moment from the admittedly riveting spectacle of "Operation Yo-Yo" and let your mind drift back nine months to August 6, 1973, when the *Wall Street Journal* and the *Washington Post* broke the story about the investigation of Mr. Agnew. Within days Mr. Agnew launched a public relations campaign that looks in retrospect like a precursor of Mr. Nixon's current defense against the House Judiciary Committee's impeachment proceedings. The difference, of course, is that Mr. Agnew *wanted* to be impeached in order to stall the courts, and Mr. Nixon, having argued that courts can not touch a President until he is impeached, wants to stall the impeachment proceedings begun against him, but the similarities are more important.

Mr. Agnew held "press conferences" at which he emphatically affirmed his innocence. He made speeches before friendly audiences. He attacked the motives of his tormentors, the prosecutors in Baltimore and the criminal division of his own Administration's Justice Department. He placed limits on the scope of his cooperation with the inquiry, citing the necessity of "preserving the constitutional stature of my office." While (and because) he was considering asking the House of Representatives to impeach him, the Justice Department was considering asking the grand jury only for a "presentment"—a compilation of facts, without any conclusions, and without an indictment—and turning the presentment over to the House. But as Messrs Cohen and Witcover report, the steady drip, drip, drip of news leaks kept Mr. Agnew's offensive from gaining momentum:

> Thus, by the middle of the month the revved-up American press, working in the superheated atmosphere generated by two major political scandals, had managed to give the nation a fair idea of the case against the Vice President. . . .
>
> The leaks were undoing Agnew, canceling out the persuasive performances he had mounted in his press conferences and rebutting his public insistence that he was the victim of a horrendous frameup. . . .
>
> Agnew in a sense, was doubly cursed. He held an exalted, even unapproachable office. By virtue of his very position, it was difficult for well-meaning persons to offer unsolicited advice. And by virtue of his cold, aloof personality Agnew made it even more difficult for the sympathetic to get his ear. . . .
>
> Regardless of their source, the leaks were downright destructive to a man clinging for all he was worth to the claim that the investigation was a horrible concoction of perjury and fantasy. Nothing Agnew could say or do could compensate for the steady dribble of incriminating information. How many times could a man protest his innocence? And who would expect him to say otherwise?

Now consider Mr. Nixon's position. He is now into his second year of public preoccupation with the public unraveling of the Watergate coverup. And the steady, relentless drip, drip, drip of eroding events and news leaks is defeating his increasingly frantic effort to treat his Watergate legal problems as one large public relations problem.

He launches a "visibility" campaign featuring question-and-answer sessions before friendly audiences in Chicago and Houston, and playing the piano and playing with a yo-yo in Nashville. The Chicago appearance was to be an opportunity to quell some of the turmoil occasioned by his preceding press conference. Then he had said that in the crucial March 21, 1973 meeting with John Dean and others he had been told that "hush money" had been paid to purchase the silence of some of the original Watergate break-in defendants. This was a flat contradiction of his carefully crafted written statement of August 15. That statement was drafted after Mr. Dean's testimony to the Senate Watergate Committee, but before Mr. Nixon realized he would have to surrender any tapes. In Chicago Mr. Nixon blurred things a little, saying that on March 21 Mr. Dean had "alleged" that the payments were intended as "hush money."

BUT BEFORE he could make it to Houston, Senator James Buckley was calling for Mr. Nixon to resign, emphasizing that the nation's loss of confidence in Mr. Nixon's ability to exert moral leadership is the essence of the current "crisis of the regime." In Houston Mr. Nixon gamely rejected Mr. Buckley's resignation call. But he was barely back from Houston when there occurred the first of what will surely be many news leaks from Capitol Hill concerning the content of the tape of the March 21 meeting, and other evidence. Last July 23, when he first rejected the Senate Watergate Committee's request for the tapes, Mr. Nixon said the tapes were ambiguous, and he repeated this with special emphasis concerning the March 21 tape, which he says records his disapproving of "hush money" payments. But the new drip, drip, drip of leaks from Capitol Hill indicates that some who have heard the tape do not think it is ambiguous, and actually think one must lean over backward to find it even ambiguously supportive of Mr. Nixon's position. □

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The Polarka Project

JAMES BURNHAM

The Protracted Conflict

IN THE SUMMER of 1968 military forces of the Soviet Union and four of its Warsaw Pact associates—Poland, East Germany, Hungary, and Bulgaria—invaded Czechoslovakia to put an end to the democratization of the regime—the Czech "Spring," as it had come to be known—that had set in under the leadership of Alexander Dubcek. One incidental result of the Soviet move was the defection to the West of Major General Jan Sejna, who had been chief liaison officer between Czechoslovakia and the other Warsaw Pact nations. Sejna is the most important military professional who has defected from a Communist country.

A series of interviews with Sejna has just been published in an Austrian magazine called *Profil*, followed by a TV appearance and sharp controversy in the Austrian press. The interest Austrians have taken in what Sejna told them, and the equal though less publicized interest taken in neighboring Yugoslavia and Czechoslovakia, are not surprising.

In the interviews General Sejna presented a contingency plan, named "Polarka," which, he said, the Soviet high command had elaborated in the late 1960s. Polarka contains the scenario of an operation to begin on the death of Yugoslavia's aging Marshal Tito. A sudden, massive invasion, with Czech troops comprising the vanguard, will seize eastern Austria. It is assumed that this phase could be completed so quickly that the Austrian army, such as it is, would have no time for any sort of reaction.

Restriction of the initial invading troops to Czechs blurs the Soviet role. There are no NATO forces based in Austria. An open confrontation between NATO and the Soviet Union thus does not take place. The Soviets would refrain from direct participation for the short while needed to assure themselves that the United States, Britain, and France—the guarantors, along with the Soviet Union, of the treaty of 1955 that ended the joint occupation of Austria—were not going to do anything serious. They would then move in to complete the occupation of eastern and southern Austria. Moscow expects no more difficulty than Hitler encountered in March 1938.

General Sejna gave many details of the occupation planning. The KGB apparatus will arrive the third day and counts on at least 4,000 collaborators from the Austrian police and security forces. Polarka includes lists of public figures, with photographs, marked for immediate arrest; lists of radio and TV transmitting stations to be seized; methods for controlling food distribution; etc.

Bringing Back the Prodigal

Polarka leaves three options open for Austria's political structure: 1) division, with half Communist-ruled, half attached to NATO; 2) Finlandization, with a united front government; 3) full Communist takeover, with Austria joining the East European satellite bloc. Under whichever variant, Austria becomes, as soon as the occupation is consolidated, the base for Polarka's primary objective: the invasion of Yugoslavia—again, with Czech forces in the initial phase—and its reintegration in the Soviet bloc.

General Sejna presented Polarka as a "contingency plan." The specific contingency upon which it would become operational would be, according to Sejna's account, the presence of "unfavorable" or "undesirable" circumstances in conjunction with Tito's death. The intervention would be explained as a necessary move to prevent Western imperialism from taking advantage of Yugoslavia's difficulties.

In the tumultuous discussion that followed the Sejna interviews, General Lütgendorf, the Austrian Defense Minister, declared that the Austrian government was aware of Soviet planning along the lines of Polarka. *Profil* had got clearance for publication from Foreign Minister Kirchschläger. However, Chancellor Kreisky—a member of Austria's Socialist Party—disavowed Sejna's account.

What are we to make of this curious business?

The existence of Polarka is inherently plausible. Sejna's own credentials are impressive, and in his job as chief of liaison with the Warsaw Pact governments, Polarka would have been within his field of concern. There seems to be no reason why the Austrian Defense and Foreign Ministers would have vouched for him unless convinced of the truth of his story.

Yugoslavia and eastern Austria are the only territories from which Soviet rule, having been extended, has been withdrawn. Their recovery would be an historically and even metaphysically seductive demonstration of the inevitability and irreversibility of the global revolution. It is well known that Moscow has had an active hand in the nationalist and factional conflicts that have been troubling Yugoslavia's domestic tranquility over the past several years, and that one faction of the Yugoslav Communist Party favors return to the Moscow fold.

Mystery in the Enigma

A further mystery remains. Assuming that General Sejna told the truth, why did he tell it publicly at this moment?

A possible explanation is suggested by the line that the Soviet representatives in Vienna have taken, in their fashion: the Sejna affair is a deliberate plot to sour the present friendly relations between Moscow and Vienna and, more generally, to wreck the blossoming East-West detente.

If a plot, a plot by whom? Did Sejna himself, perhaps in collaboration with other defectors and Western anti-Communists, decide that it had become necessary to warn the West against the illusions of detente, and to strengthen the hand of those Yugoslavs who are resisting the back-to-Moscow tendency?

General Sejna has resided most of the time since 1968 in the U.S., where his supervisory host has been the CIA. Obviously, he must have told CIA about Polarka a long while ago. Is it likely that he would have gone public without CIA approval—or CIA orders?

And a footnote: it is known that Marshal Tito, who has been ailing for several years, became more seriously ill a few weeks ago. Doctors from Western European countries have been brought in for consultation. □

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THE NEW LEISURE

The Myth of Unemployment

LARRY E. REAVIS

For many years it has been fashionable to speak of national economic crises in terms of unemployment. Indeed, the concept finds its way into nearly every theory of economic behavior, and myriad programs are invented and implemented in its name. But the class it designates is indeterminate if not nonexistent. Unemployment, once perhaps a useful notion, is now a myth.

But myths are slow to disappear, and professionals and laymen alike persist in using a term that is meaningless. Consider the definition most state unemployment offices use: unemployment denotes involuntary joblessness, specifically, the condition of being without gainful employment despite one's willingness and ability to perform work. With such an elusive criterion it is not difficult to understand the ambiguity in unemployment figures. On the one hand, they may include the housewife turned part-time librarian who never intends a job to play a significant role in her life. On the other hand, it may exclude the farmer who barely clears $3,000 at harvest time. Likewise, a youth may be "unemployed" by virtue of his intentional drifting between jobs—a recent phenomenon—while an industrious paraplegic in search of a job may be left out of the classification. Hence a proliferation of hybrid terms has come into vogue to elaborate the original: marginally unemployed, hard-core unemployed, chronic unemployed, and even unemployed employed, to name a few. The result, predictably enough, is more confusion.

In the traditional economic sense unemployment is regarded as a condition in the labor market in which the supply of labor power exceeds the demand for it. Yet the United States today, and increasingly since the mid-Sixties, is experiencing the anomaly of having unemployment rolls exist side by side with more than enough available work. Jobs are there; the "unemployed" are not taking them.

Despite the vagueness and contradictions of the definition, professionals continue to apply the label at will and speak of it as if it were precise. Recently members of the President's Council of Economic Advisers announced that more than 5 per cent of the current labor force remains unemployed. Yet they admit that the definition of unemployment, the process by which it develops, and the best means of counteraction elude their grasp.

The view that unemployment is a national malady stems from a work ethic that had its origins in the Judeo-Christian tradition and reached fruition in the Protestant Reformation. Later, under the impact of an international economic crisis in the Thirties, this view was incorporated as a component in a model of national economic viability. In keeping with the tradition, not only are men separated into the working and nonworking, but there is also an *inherent* inferiority in the latter, as the term "unemployment" implies. Unemployment connotes not only deviance but also a kind of moral transgression that must be remedied. But this is a projection of one's values upon another—an assumption that the jobless perceive both the relative inadequacy and the immorality of their condition and desire to remedy it. In fact, there are thousands of Americans, mostly between 17 and 25, who experience no such pain.

Suddenly, we have the cultivation of a lifestyle that runs contrary to the popular notion of the "unemployed." Instead of the jobless, we have a new leisure class who perceive themselves as such, who embody a new awareness that idealizes enjoyment over work, and who reject existing work roles as demeaning, irrelevant, and trivial. They are content to pass from one job to another and savor the "good life" in between.

The social revolution has had its consequences. It has led to expectations that the existing social and economic structure has been unable to fulfill. Students and others, having been inundated with the progressive rhetoric of humanistic psychology and self-actualization, are loath to accept work roles that are not likely to fulfill their potential, even though their skills, talents, and training might amplify those roles. At the same time those positions that grew out of the revolution—notably in education and the media—are glutted with applicants. Unemployment, once the result of economic depression, is now an element of prosperity and an accepted lifestyle. Thus, what some interpret as an irrational and destructive condition may be seen as a rational response to an irrational and destructive work environment.

To label those not accepting traditional work roles as unemployed invites the intervention of specialists, the use of public monies, and all sorts of prescriptions to rescue them from a highly questionable dilemma. At the same time it neglects the real frustrations of the "employed." In short, it focuses upon the individual instead of the jobs themselves. This is unfortunate; for dissatisfactions are usually inherent in the job and are often predictable.

To expose a myth is not to deny the existence of certain conditions. But "unemployment," with its present denotations and connotations, is clearly a misleading concept, useless in addressing the real problems. In time any scientific paradigm will generate contradictions and, as these are resolved, the notion is refined, or abandoned for a better one. The concept of unemployment, however, has not become more lean and useful, but instead has been loaded with a plethora of deceptive meanings and ad hoc variations.

The alternative is clear. An effort to discover the elusive factor that will reliably distinguish the employed from the unemployed may prove fruitful. More than likely, however, this classification will have to be discarded in favor of another. Indeed, one that distinguishes between lifestyles or social values would be more pertinent. In any case continuing with the old definition is futile for the "unemployed" and the decision makers alike. □

Mr. Reavis' area of concentration at United States International University, where he recently received his MBA, was Quantitative Analysis.

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LETTER FROM CANADA

North of the Border Radical Chic

JOHN MUGGERIDGE

When two or three Canadians are gathered together to protest U.S. cultural imperialism, one of them is likely to be American. Scratch a "Keep It Canadian" bumper sticker and in a significant number of cases you will find "Vote McGovern." In fact these days some of our most enthusiastic Maple Leaf flag-wavers turn out to be veterans of campus demonstrations who only months ago were dancing round the Stars and Stripes.

The reason for this sudden excess of patriotism among our newest immigrants is not far to seek. They have discovered in historic Canadian nationalism with its built-in anti-American bias, its fear, never entirely assuaged (did not President Madison say that the taking of Canada was a mere matter of marching?), of being swallowed up into a United States of all North America, an ideal instrument for carrying on their vendetta against the military-industrial complex.

The nationalist garb above all allows them to advocate revolutionary violence without making themselves unpopular as disturbers of public order. There is, after all, a necessary element of violence in every nationalism. Indeed, by its very definition nationalism is a way of justifying the disruption of someone else's public order. Enemies at home may be voted against or judicially punished according to the nature of their hostility. Their lives, however, should be sacred. For enemies abroad the rigor of the Fifth Commandment is softened.

A case in point is that of Karleton Armstrong. Left nationalist spokesmen encouraged us to feel more sympathy for him as a rejected refugee from foreign oppression than for the victim of his wanton bombing in Wisconsin. Wisconsin is in enemy territory. Armstrong was made to look like one of us. As a freedom fighter he was above the law. A bevy of Staughton Lynds came north to testify that America is a police state. Indeed there were so many of them that they spoilt their case. The judge wondered why they were not in jail, and ordered Armstrong extradited. The latter, following time honored precedent, shouted obscenities at the Canadian judicial system. Even this tired, touring-company rerun of the Chicago Courtroom Scene could be painted in patriotic colors. In offing the Establishment Armstrong was supporting the true interests of oppressed Canadians. He was bidding defiance to Kanada, the Vichy regime of North America.

Most Canadians approved of Armstrong's deportation. As a society we are distressingly unradicalized. One philosopher calls us "costive." Others, more politely, refer to our innate conservatism inherited from the Loyalists. Certainly Canadians seem more inclined than Americans to accept authority simply because it is established. We allow Ottawa to bug our telephones (which is why Watergate could not have happened here. Except for the breaking and entering part it would all have been legal). During the FLQ (Liberation Front of Quebec) crisis in October 1970, we overwhelmingly approved a law which would have censored the media, dispensed with search warrants, and allowed suspects to be held without charge for up to 90 days. Said a local newspaper editorial, printed in honor of the occasion at the top of page one: "About Time Too." The *Washington Post* took a somewhat different line. "Canada," it announced, "Suspends Civil Liberties."

No wonder, then, that Canadians are less than enthusiastic about the new radical nationalism. During the last federal election in the fall of 1972 left-nationalist consciousness-raisers succeeded in persuading only 5 per cent of voters to worry about American economic domination. How can you alert people to the need to drive out foreign devils if they don't catch the smell of brimstone? The average Canadian takes the view that the multinational corporations exist, and have therefore a God-given right to go on existing. Even so respectable and unrevolutionary a group as the Committee for an Independent Canada, which reveres parliamentary democracy, want to retain a mixed economy, and seek to extend the power of the state onl where national sovereignty is directl threatened, has failed to win the con fidence of most Canadians. Its member are mostly confined to the with-it turtle neck class of salaried liberationist bald on top and long at the side teachers, professor-journalists, new breed lawyers, and civil servants wh hold that monogamy is selfish and ar having a pool put in. You can tell the meetings, one reporter noted, by th number of Volvos, Fiats, and Volk wagens in the parking lot, vehicle which, he went on to suggest, call int question not only their owners' patr otism, but also their political orthodox Good, right-thinking citizens driv Fords and Chevrolets.

Where cultural and military draf dodgers and "political" exiles lik Karleton Armstrong have made the biggest impact is among intellectual The latter have always prided then selves on their ability to admire th right causes. What, in their eyes, di tinguishes Canadians from other pe ples is not technological or territori greatness or cultural excellence; it sensitivity to world issues. In particul we have a talent for identifying wit the currently progressive forces in U. society. "In American elections," sa one historian with reference to th gift, "Canadians always vote Dem crat." Thus we were for FDR again the Depression; for Truman against B Business; for Kennedy against bigotr for Johnson against nuclear annihil tion; and for McGovern against t military-industrial complex. Today v are for the countergovernment again alienation. These are typical Canadi priorities. Daniel Ellsberg is our he (he was recently described by a Can dian academic as "the man I mc admire in America"), the *New Yo Times* our newspaper, Nicholas v Hoffman our most frequently

Mr. Muggeridge teaches English and Canadian Studies at a Community College in the Niagara Peninsula.

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printed voice of America, and William F. Buckley Jr. definitely a flower born to blush unseen (at least one university book store in Canada will not carry *NR*). To laugh at Nixon and to commiserate with McGovern are the marks not only of political sophistication, but also of being a true-blooded Canadian. Pauline Kael's comment that she had never met a Nixon supporter in Canada would be stating the obvious, like saying that one had never met a quisling.

What all this amounts to is Canadian chic. It is a yearning to escape triviality, to relieve the tedium of life in postindustrial society, to acquire collective significance. It is all very well for McLuhan to talk of the global village. We want a national identity. Hence among Canadian liberals a special glamor attaches to the counterculture. It offers us the prospect of being different. No wonder we continue to subsidize Rochdale, an 18-story "free university" in downtown Toronto reputed to be the drug center of the continent. With the Le Dain Commission recommendation that marijuana be legalized put into effect, we could at least become a nation of pot smokers.

OUR FELLOW feeling for the American political Left is similarly motivated. The thought that it is explicitly committed to direct action arouses in us the same *frisson* of delight which Leonard Bernstein's guests experienced when the conversation turned to firearms. Almost instinctively we begin to scan our own society in search of grounds for confrontation. Where your Native Peoples crowd stage a Wounded Knee, ours are on the lookout for a Wounded Elbow. Most of our cities are innocent of black ghettos. We must therefore supply them with imaginary ones, complete with Afroed Mau-Mauers demanding free breakfasts for undernourished children, and unkempt agitators occupying buildings scheduled for the wreckers. Sometimes militancy occurs by sympathetic reaction. Your women march: ours get in step. Demands for day care south of the border lead to the occupation of university buildings by breast-feeding mothers north of it. "Hey, hey, LBP" chanted Canadian war protestors during the prime ministership of Lester Bowles Pearson, "How many kids have you killed today?" And once an antiwarrior in the University of Toronto campus held up a sign reading: "We Ain't Gonna Go." He didn't have to. At that time Her Majesty's Canadian government was at peace.

THE EFFECT of Canadian chic is to make what in the United States is the platform of a political faction into the basis for a national orthodoxy. One develops a national liberal mind-set, and finds oneself nearing agreement with the Canadian elder statesman who said recently that all racial bigots vote Conservative. Well, don't they? A Catholic member of Parliament who speaks out against the use of Health and Welfare funds to pay for aborting unwanted children and opposes the public showing of *The Last Tango in Paris* (both positions are supported by the Canadian criminal code) has been dubbed the Archie Bunker of the Manitoba Legislature. We take our villains as well as our heroes from American mythology. If anyone had the temerity to start a Young Canadians for Freedom he would quickly be smeared as a Bircher.

The same sort of ideological inflexibility shows up in the new scholarship. Here as in the United States young men in all-enveloping beards tend to interrupt meetings of learned societies, to condemn the ancient dogmas and promulgate new ones. We must stop believing in the behavioral approach and become materialists. For Canadians all the old models turn out to be false ones. Henceforth we are to look for new insights concerning our national development in Latin America and the Third World. Bullfighting is more germane to the history of Canadian sport than baseball. After all, are we not White Niggers of America, the world's most affluent colonialized people? And does not the fact that we suffer from this condition make us the sort of people we are? Liberal capitalism is a foreign imposition. Such at any rate seems to be the opinion of a Marxist refugee from Nixon's Third Reich who is editor of the voice of left nationalism, *Canadian Dimension*, and author of a recent study of the Americanization of Canadian political science (he himself is a political scientist). It appeared in the latest number of the *Journal of Canadian Studies*, a solid, conservative, university-based quarterly dedicated to

(Continues on page 445)

"There were actually no big problems. It was the little things that broke up our marriage."

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LETTER FROM BONN

The Declining Star of Willy Brandt

NORBERT MUHLEN

"Do you know that Willy has been kidnapped?" the cab driver asked me when I arrived in Munich. With a poker face, he added: "The kidnappers want a millon marks in cash, and if they don't get it they threaten to return Willy to the Chancellory alive." Telling jokes about Chancellor Willy Brandt is the latest and very popular fad in Germany these days. There must be several hundred by now, mostly depicting him as a tottering, helpless man; they often predict his early demise. Such a wave of hostile jokes would have been unthinkable a year ago when, following his and his party's impressive victory at the polls, he was hailed as one who would triumphantly lead his people toward peace and progressive innovation. Any critical reflection on his towering stature then was dismissed as reactionary lèse majesté.

Today his halo is badly tarnished for those both in and out of the ranks of his former admirers. "Europe's most overrated politician," as he was recently called by the Swiss *Neue Zürcher Zeitung*, one of Europe's best informed newspapers, now finds support only in those same foreign liberal media that did so much to build him up on the international scene. Thus the *Washington Post*, for instance, as late as February was informing its readers that "of all the Western democracies the only one that continues under vigorous and secure leadership is Germany." This at the very moment when West Germans were demonstrating their disenchantment with Brandt and his government because of the very failure to provide that kind of vigorous and secure leadership.

The signs of Brandt's vanishing popularity are many. When the voters of traditionally "Red" Hamburg elected a new mayor early in March, Brandt's party, the Social Democrats, lost 10 per cent of their previous vote and the absolute majority for the first time in two decades. Two weeks later elections in the state of Rhineland-Palatinate showed the same trend: the Social Democratic share of the vote dropped from 41.2 to 35.5 per cent, while the opposition Christian Democrats increased from 43.9 to nearly 52 per cent. The latest polls indicate the growing discontent with Brandt, his administration, and his policies. The 60 per cent of the population which had approved of them wholeheartedly at the beginning of 1973 has dwindled to a minority of 35 per cent, while the conservative Christian Democrats are now supported by a majority of the people.

Brandt and his party strategists put the blame for these stunning defeats on their public relations departments which, they claim, have not convincingly sold the government's policies to

the people. That those policies themselves have failed, and that the majority of Germans has become painfully aware of it, they were not prepared publicly to concede. Inside the party councils, however, the question is being asked, "What went wrong with Willy?" The answer lies in the popular conviction—based on his accumulating failures, domestic and foreign—that he has not fulfilled the expectations he conjured up, that he has been inept in statesmanship, and that his performance is, at best, to be pitied.

On the domestic front, Germans are deeply troubled by the social and economic threats besetting them today. They are especially worried about the rise of the radical Left in Brandt's ruling party, a wing of the party that aggressively supports class war, calls for an end to private property and free enterprise, for "democratization"—the code word for revolutionary dictatorship—and "subduing the system," another code word for revolution itself. Under the tolerant eyes of the moderate party establishment—"we were kids, too, once"—the radical minority has gained increasing influence not only within the party, but in the universities, school systems, even the governments and the justice departments in states governed by Social Democrats.

Just before the Hamburg elections police in Frankfurt, a Social Democratic town, tried to evict a group of left wing students from houses they had been illegally occupying for almost two years. The policemen, under orders not to use force, were met with arms and 26 of them were seriously injured in the ensuing battle. At about the same time, a leftist student who had waylaid and beaten the prominent anti-Communist television commentator Gerhard Löwenthal, was acquitted by a socialist judge, who declared in court that this was one of the few ways a student could express his outrage at Löwenthal's opinions. As disorder and subversion rise, and as the government wavers between mild disapproval and equally mild toleration, the German for whom law and order are still a cardinal value, blame it all on Brandt and his SPD.

The Germans, like many other peoples, are faced with severe inflation

(Continues on page 442)

Norbert Muhlen, author and U.S. correspondent for several European newspapers, writes frequently for NR.

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Latter Day Law Studies

RUSSELL KIRK

From the Academy

SOME three decades ago, Dr. Robert Hutchins remarked that there are no true schools of law in these United States—only trade schools for people who wish to become attorneys. Have we made progress since then? Not much. In several respects, we have retrogressed. Law schools are desperately crowded and swamped with applications nowadays, more so than medical schools. We are becoming a litigious people, and the proliferation of governmental controls compels even the smallest entrepreneur to consult a lawyer.

The latest afflictions of the law schools are zealotry for using the law to effect radical "social reform" and a humanitarian passion for opening enrollment to "minority" applicants—in part as a form of poor relief. One student at a law school in the state of New York tells me that the semester opened with a series of radical harangues by administrators and professors. The most moderate potentate argued that a knowledge of the law would be valuable to members of the rising generation who wish to make a revolution. Another law student friend of mine, in California, doubts whether he will practice law when he graduates; he is deeply disheartened. All his professors are under 30 years of age, he says, and so he has come to think that you can't trust anybody under 30. (He thought of himself as a liberal until he got into law school.) If his professors know any law, they don't reveal it; classroom hours are devoted to exhortations, the gist of which is that a radicalized bar and bench can establish some new "justice"—muddily defined, if defined at all.

Queens College, New York proposes to establish a new law school. But the administrators of Queens want no old wine in new bottles. They have, they say, "a sense of mission." What mission? Why, to be part of a "new generation of law schools." The model of this "new generation" is the law school founded in the District of Columbia by Antioch College. Here is an extract from the catalogue of Antioch's law school:

"The primary objectives of the School are to produce a 'new breed' of lawyers and legal technicians committed to the use of the law as an instrument of justice; to generate a new body of legal scholarship—empirically based, relevant, and highly disciplined—to deal with the problems of social injustice and to act as a catalyst to change the nature of legal education nationally."

Are the lawyers of the borough of Queens delighted at this prospect of a "new breed" law school in their midst? Not so Mr. Matthew J. Shevlin, editor of the *Queens Bar Bulletin*. Writing in December's number of his own journal, Mr. Shevlin declares that there exists no need for a new law school at public expense. And more—

"Equally important is the fact that the claims of benefit to the public are highly debatable, pedagogically unsound, and, in effect, probably detrimental to the public interest as well as to the legal profession. The 'enriched' curriculum at the 'new breed' of law school is a myth invented by non-lawyers.

"The [Queens College] brochure suggests that funds could be obtained from the Federal Government and foundations. This is completely illusory. . . ."

MR. SHEVLIN goes on to argue that "traditional law schools have turned out a diversified alumni of liberals, conservatives, radicals, and revolutionaries, including those constituting voluble and activist groups making riotous demands for social and political change." We don't need to create new law schools in order to produce ideologues-at-law. Do we wish to ensure that *all* young lawyers will be like the zealots of the Office of Economic Opportunity—"using the public payroll to further or achieve their pet changes in law and governmental policy under the guise of providing legal services to the poor?"

Mr. J. Edward Thornton, an eminent member of the Mobile bar and former justice of Alabama's Special Supreme Court, writes in *The Alabama Lawyer* for last October that the classical, Hebraic, and Christian understanding of justice—"to each his own"—is being supplanted by the Marxist dogma that "justice" means total equality of condition. With considerable learning, Mr. Thornton shows that the tendency among many professors of law today is toward Marxist ideology; they abandon the old standards of justice.

"With all of the scholarly research going on in so many institutions of higher learning today," Mr. Thornton concludes, "it would seem that the connection or coincidence of Marx's rule with the destruction of the historic concept of justice would have caught the view of someone and have been explored by now. It is still a challenge."

NOT ALL of the recently founded schools of law are either hotbeds of social revolution or cram academies for young persons interested in the law only because it should be lucrative. Take the new International School of Law in the District of Columbia. International emphasizes the classics, jurisprudence, moral philosophy, and historical studies.

A task force of HEW recently recommended that the Federal Government take action to diminish restraints upon competition in schooling for the learned professions. For one thing, says the task force (chaired by Mr. Frank Newman, the author of the healthily innovating Newman Report on education in 1971), the American Bar Association is a tremendous exclusionary influence upon law schools. The ABA insists that schools which it accredits must employ only full-time professors—not mere distinguished practitioners of the law. This "is generally acknowledged as having driven out most of the night law programs."

However that may be, young ideologues are entrenched in chairs of law, by the present structure of the schools. Would that men of law like Mr. Thornton and Mr. Shevlin might sit in those seats of the mighty! Until such a revolution (distinctly not The Revolution, of which the young professors dream) occurs, those young people who would like to know something of Plato and Cicero and Montesquieu and Blackstone on law—why, they'll have a thin time. □

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Arts & Manners

The GIMLET EYE

D. KEITH MANO

Exorcise the Body

Let's not play pattycake, friend. I've seen *The Exorcist* twice. It's the most effective film ever made. Effective, in that it effects: disquiets the psyche. I'm not particularly highstrung, yet my dreaming was unsettled by it, for three nights in succession. Certain fears, part of the standard human allotment, had their cutting edges stropped. It didn't make me believe in Satan; I have believed in Satan all my life. Anyway, *The Exorcist* has nothing whatever to do with Satan, or with designated-hitter subdemons. It's a machine: the product of brilliant special-effects technology, the same technology that gave you electroshock treatment. William Peter Blatty (and his director William Friedkin) didn't create: they engineered. In simple fact, *The Exorcist* is new. That's trauma enough for our blasé, sophisticated age. Novelty should be rated X, Adults Only. Not R.

Fright is surprise. The unexpected in familiar circumstances. Even cheerful surprises dismay: Miss America will always cry. Fright affords tremendous kinetic energy. In *The Exorcist* 12-year-old Regan appears at a cocktail party. Abruptly, uncontrollably, she urinates on the floor. A natural act, but done in abnormal circumstances. Major-minor terms of the fright equation have been inverted. Audiences are stunned, for two reasons. First, because the event is novel; conventions of cinematic taste have been abrogated. Frankenstein is grotesque, yet rather priggish. Dracula bares his fangs, not his genitals (vampirism is sensual, but the sensuality functions at a remove). Second, because the energy of disgust has been annexed to the energy of fright. Step on a snake and you recoil. Step on something the dog did, you also recoil. These are quite different stimuli: Blatty has nailed them together.

"Shock" is a useful word. It has two distinct meanings: terror and revulsion. Explicit sex in literature, on the screen, may "shock" but it hardly terrorizes. Disgust, not fear. In life, however, sex can excite both emotions: as when small children inadvertently see parents having intercourse. These are isolated, terrible moments. *The Exorcist* shocks

constantly: in this special, doubled sense. Blatty may or may not understand what he has done—probably not, he seems a clumsy sensationalist—but it is, nonetheless, daunting, primitive. And very dangerous.

Take the human orgasm. Eyes glaze over, blind. The body is convulsed. Sounds are subverbal: cringing or savage. Out of context orgasm simulates some dreadful motor affliction. Produced by brain lesions, perhaps. Or by possession. Little Regan is attacked, so to speak, by orgasm: spastic lust. Your child's vomit may be nasty, but it doesn't threaten. Regan can hit a moving target with green puke at 20 paces. Imagine, if you will, the primeval vomiting experience. Did Pithecanthropus consider it natural, a matter of gastric juices and bungled digestion? I think not. It was noisome, painful, violent; surprising as the thunder he propitiated. Ergo, chthonic forces at work.

In short, then: *The Exorcist* isn't about devils; it's about that obstreperous, refractory stranger—the physical body. Blatty has lucked out because we are all, to a degree, possessed. We empathize subconsciously: the rational mind frustrated by wet dreams, cramps, full bladders. Blatty's supernatural garage sale undoes with its nonsense—albeit marginally, momentarily—500 years of science and common sense. Evil, my foot. The devil is much amused. Evil presumes a free will. Regan has none. I suspect little Bill Blatty's mother strapped him for not making potty in the right place. To use Freudian terminology: feces-money. Blatty's cash flow certainly doesn't need laxation.

THE FILM is a paean to technology: Rolls Royces aren't machined with better precision. Sit in the back row. You can see heads, shoulders duck and jerk as if the theater floor were being shaken. People cry out, faint: in time one or two will die. Friedkin has polluted *The Exorcist* with noise. Strident sounds hit, hit. I watched a woman, eyes shut, quiver: her soft parts might have been wired to the sound track. A subplot alternates. During the quiet scenes dialogue is muffled by nervous, thin laughter; panic an embarrassment in retrospect. Fear is pleasurable: if it weren't, roller coasters would run on level ground.

But fear is pleasurable because it numbs reason, "takes you out of yourself," as they say. Reverse possession. The body rules: adrenalin, hyperventilation, reflexive twitching. These biological manifestations, of course, feed back nicely into the demonic theme. They inculcate Blatty's subliminal lesson: that the body is separate, hostile. An audience will react most passionately, not when Regan's head is swiveling, not when she uses the crucifix for a dildo, but when the stupid doctors insist that possession is mere brain damage. Booing, catcalls, profanity; palpable anger from the orchestra. Men and women who get penicillin shots for heartburn, up to their navels in

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Blue Cross coverage, suddenly repudiate science with an ugly zeal.

If the death of Satan announced God's long terminal illness, is *The Exorcist* a boost for Christianity? Fudge: to start with, the faith doesn't separate physical and spiritual in Blatty's simplistic manner. Moreover, Beelzebub gets most of the good lines and all the good body movements. He can do anything but break Regan's restraining straps (convenient that: otherwise she'd have lurched through downtown Washington like Godzilla). He kills two Jesuits. Beyond half-sentences from the exorcism ritual, Christ's word is mute. Sensitive to this, Blatty and Friedkin are off somewhere shooting new final scenes—a kind of amen, I guess, that will "give a surge of joy," to quote *Newsweek*. A surge just isn't enough.

Blatty has characterized Satan as a supernatural pornographer with the runs: at this point *The Exorcist* becomes particularly counterproductive. The devil doesn't blow his cover. Indeed, Satan is a delightful sort. Handsome as, say, Gore Vidal and just as glib. If not, what virtue in resisting him? Someone who pukes on you all the time can hardly rank as a temptation.

When Regan's SOS comes, the kindly old exorciser is meditating at Woodstock, a famous Jesuit seminary in Maryland. Woodstock, Garry Wills tells me, is gone: blown away by glib and handsome winds of change. William Peter Blatty, *Newsweek* covers notwithstanding, won't bring it back. And meanwhile, who will exorcise us from *The Exorcist*? □

TAXES

FRANCIS RUSSELL

The Science of Deduction

This is not a time for reason, but I think no reasonable person ought to object to President Nixon's taking his allowed tax deductions through the gift to the Library of Congress of his vice presidential papers. To call this a tax loophole is to imply that trickery was involved. A little fast footwork perhaps, but nothing more. Real trickery was involved in the special law that Truman steered through Congress allowing the royalties from his memoirs and incidentally from Eisenhower's *Crusade in Europe* to be considered capital gains, liable only to a fraction of the tax that would have been otherwise levied. Then, with Truman and Eisenhower securely rich by it, the law was repealed. Here was a real swindle, yet nobody got very worked up about it.

No one is morally obligated to pay any more taxes than he legally must, as J. P. Morgan tartly pointed out in the Thirties when it came out that in one Depression year he had paid no income tax at all. "Change the law," he said, "if you don't like it." That is of course what Congress did in 1969 in regard to deductions for the gift of manuscripts, chiefly to prevent Lyndon Johnson from continuing to claim sweeping deductions through the piecemeal donation of his presidential papers. Just before the new law went into effect President Nixon managed to get rid of his vice presidential papers, in a hurry verging indeed on the unseemly, to obtain his vast and now well-publicized deductions. After that an author giving away his personal papers and manuscripts would find it did him no good with the Internal Revenue Service.

In the opinion of the Authors Guild the tax-revision law, so hastily devised to squelch Johnson, is unfair to professional artists and writers, who as a group have modest not to say precarious incomes and who can claim few tax deductions. Yet, the IRS allows one to make annual tax-free gifts of up to $3,000; an author, therefore, could give his manuscript to a friend, who in turn could donate it on his own to a library and receive a $3,000 deduction for his pains.

A specific example concerns the love letters of Harding to his mistress that I uncovered in the course of writing my Harding biography. A Harding nephew was able to get possession of the letters from the daughter of the mistress. How much he had to pay for them I do not know, but afterward he gave them to the Library of Congress with the stipulation that they remain sealed for 50 years. As a consequence of his limited altruism, he was able to deduct $15,000 from his taxable income that year. My own unexpurgated Harding manuscript —the text of the letters wherever I quoted from them had to be deleted from the published edition—should, I think, be worth well over $3,000. Yet there is nothing I can do with those smudged pages, nowhere I could present them, that would bring me any tax surcease.

Some time before the publicity over the Nixon paper shuffle I wrote to the Internal Revenue Service asking why I could no longer treat my own manuscripts as tax deductible gifts inasmuch as anyone else who happened to get hold of them could. Eventually I received a reply from some IRS higher-up who explained: if an artist with an income of $10,000 painted a picture appraised at $1,500, he could under the old regulations have given it to a museum and taken a deduction that would have brought his taxable income down to $8,500; suppose, however, the artist had sold his painting to a dealer for $1,500. He would then have been saddled with a taxable income of $11,500, or $3,000 more than that of the artist who had more prudently disposed of his landscape to the local public library. This, by IRS logic, would be grossly unfair, an unfairness fortunately remedied by the new law designed to protect the public from being mulcted by artists deliberately earning less than they should.

AT PRESENT the Authors Guild is sponsoring a measure that would allow writers to claim half the value of any donated manuscript as a tax deduction. It seems reasonable. Certainly this is not a country that has ever done very much for independent artists and writers, and even when it tries the awards usually go to hacks (remember that $750 one-word poem?) and relatives of politicians. Some years ago I received a Guggenheim Fellowship and discovered that the IRS had its eye even on this award, although I was granted an exemption for the first $3,000. It seems to me that some such modest exemption should be allowed for a properly appraised manuscript or painting. Exemptions for half a million dollars or so to ungrammatical politicians do seem hardly fair to the average unexempted taxpayer, though scarcely less so than the equally large subsidies paid for over a generation to large scale

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Mr. Russell *has just finished* The Boston Police Strike *for Viking, and* President Makers from Mark Hanna to Joseph Kennedy *for Little Brown. Publication late 1974 or early 1975.*

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farmers for not farming their acres. My own suggestion is that a limit be set to deductions claimed for manuscripts or papers or paintings, say $3,000 or $5,000 or even $10,000. The total amount thereby renounced by the government would do more to encourage the arts than many a council, and would certainly be far less than the annual cost of providing parking space for congressmen.

As a postscript I have had the clever idea of presenting my last manuscript to my wife for her birthday. She can then give it to a library and claim the deduction on our joint tax return. I hope we don't both wind up in Danbury. □

DELECTATIONS

NIKA HAZELTON

Ultima Thule

I've loved Norway deeply since I went there first. It isn't only the overwhelming beauty of the country: the big fjords in the South, the glacier-covered mountains in the middle, the ragged, island-scattered coast of the North. It is the people, with their straightforward friendliness. You can come back after several years' absence and find that your friends are still friends; I don't know of any other country where this is generally true.

For tourists, the best way to get some insight into the life of the country is to take a trip on one of the Coastal Express steamers that go from Bergen to Kirkenes along 1,200 miles of a coastline which has no equal in Europe. These ships serve like buses: they link the coastal communities, carrying mail, cargo, and passengers to and from the North, stopping at every settlement along the way. Apart from the local traffic, they take a limited number of passengers, who travel in comfortable though not luxurious cabins, with good meals and friendly service. The round trip of 11 days, including meals and overland excursions, costs $475. The one-way trip from Bergen to Kirkenes takes five and a half days. The most practical thing to do is to take a one-way trip, flying back by SAS. It is also possible to fly SAS to most of the ports, hop aboard a ship for a day or longer, and then fly back. The flight between Kirkenes (the end of the line) and Oslo is about $100; from Tromso to Oslo, about $80. The flight from the North to the South, both in summer and winter, is extremely beautiful, as you see the landscape most of the time. And SAS, which helped to open North Norway, is a very pleasant airline with excellent hotels.

In the smaller communities, the arrival of the ship is the event of the day. Everybody comes down to the dock to watch. The children practice their English on the passengers, and the grown-ups like to talk about America; it is not hard to start a conversation. And there is always time to go ashore and look at the place while the ship unloads and loads. The overland excursions come as a revelation in idyllic farmscapes after the wild, rocky coast. And if you must, you can go atop North Cape (I've been content to watch it from the sea).

This January I visited Tromso, the center of the North, with its new university, many other schools, many hospitals, and an excellent museum. The population is 40,000 (Norway's total is just under 4 million) and its people

live from industry and fishing. Just within the Arctic Circle, it is the place Arctic expeditions start from. And it is a place of Midnight Sun and the winter night.

Ever since I first went to Norway, I have wondered: since the people there sleep little during the season of the Midnight Sun, would the contrary be true in the winter? In Tromso the sun disappears from the horizon on November 25 and comes back on January 21. The middle of the day, however, is not pitch dark: from 10 A.M. to 3 P.M. there is a greenish twilight (*murketide*), during which you do need electric lights, but which is a world away from pitch dark.

The darkness affects people variously, and much has been said and written about it. The people who come from the South of Norway, which has normal winter daylight, often do not mind the darkness their first few years in the North, but are affected by it later, so that they have to take trips to the South. The Northerners know that what you do is to keep busy and ignore the whole thing as much as possible. There are, in the long evenings, concerts, lectures, discussion groups, and other social activities. But it is difficult to get to sleep; depression affects a number of the women, stuck in the house with the children who, being housebound, are all the harder to control. Norwegians are used to lots of exercise and fresh air, which are not easy to come by in winter. Their absence contributes to depression. In Tromso, as in other towns in northern Norway, there are illuminated ski slopes and Olympic-size indoor swimming pools, to encourage nighttime recreation; still, many people don't get out often enough. But there is no health problem: *everybody* takes cod liver oil and vitamins, drinks milk daily, and eats lots of citrus fruit.

The first day the sun is out there is always a local celebration, with parties everywhere the first Saturday after the great event. The day lengthens very quickly: five hours every month. I was in Tromso a week after the reappearance of the sun. It became light around 8 A.M.; the sun rose around 11, announcing itself with the most beautiful luminosity I've ever seen; it set around 3 P.M., and a little after 5 P.M. it was dark.

At North Cape, the Midnight Sun is visible from May 15 to about July 31 and can be seen for shorter periods throughout northern Norway. From then on daylight peters out slowly. Of course it is surprising to see endless day, with or without the sun (which can hide itself behind clouds for days on end). But somehow the Midnight Sun never made such a tremendous impact on my husband and me as did the darkness; it is such a popular and well described phenomenon that one has imagined it all before seeing it. But during the short summer and its endless day, life does not go by the clock. The light is far too precious to waste on more than the minimum of sleep and indoor activities, as you can see when your Coastal Express ship docks at 3 A.M. in some fishing town above the Arctic Circle, and you have the whole population, down to the babies, at the docks to welcome you. □

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BOOKS

Hallucinogenic Elisions

FERDINAND MOUNT

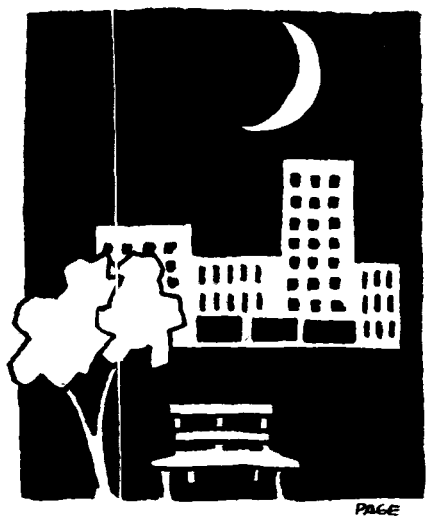
Marx and Burke: A Revisionist View
By Ruth A. Bevan
Open Court, 197 pp., $7.95

Now what exactly are these strange bedfellows doing between the same covers? Under what rubric do Marx and Burke belong to the same communion? At first it looks as if down in the Political Science Department of Yeshiva U., where Professor Bevan instructs, they pass the time by playing the old party game of Consequences, in which the mirth froths from the improbability of the names conjoined: Pope Paul and Lenny Bruce, Jane Austen and Jack the Ripper, Marx and Burke. Yet the purpose of this essay emerges as neither frivolous nor entirely perverse. It is daring, engrossing, and I'd like a few second opinions on it.

Ruth Bevan begins by asserting a similarity or at least a comparability in opposition. Marx and Burke were both unyielding and savage opponents of all utilitarians, rationalists, positivists, and Benthamites. Today both would be equally critical of the shallowness of the behavioralists. This shared opposition betokens and leads into a similarity of method: the grounding of thought in social reality, the aversion to abstraction or pseudo-mathematical invention in the elaboration of political ideas. And because social reality is essentially historically evolved, the two men regard any analysis or prescription that lacks the historical dimension as false and lifeless.

STEP by step we are led to think of Marx and Burke as representing a conjunction as evocative and inseparable as that of Abercrombie & Fitch, men no doubt of very differing temperament —Abercrombie probably a jovial family man, Fitch a somewhat austere bachelor who looked after the cash flow—yet united by a shared enterprise, a common way of doing things. We notice that by virtue of this praxis (to borrow a rather vogue word) our old friends have grown increasingly to resemble one another, as elderly men are said to come to look like their dogs. Karl's face softens into a kindly smile—he only believed in qualified revolution, after all. On the other hand, Red Ed turns out to have a rather sterner view of the class struggle than we had remembered. By the end, we are hardly surprised to find Professor Bevan suggesting that Burke, born in our own time, might have been a sort of Fabian social reformer. Fabian, nuts! He'd have been out there with the kids throwing rocks.

This joint distillation is clearly a powerful drug, a reconstituted M&B with decidedly hallucinogenic properties. There is a sense—and a very important sense—in which M&B stand together opposed to, say, Locke, Hobbes, Comte, Bentham, and Mill, a sense in which their historical sociology strikes a far richer and deeper vein of social reality. Yet M&B do not stand alone against the rest. They have also in their camp Aristotle, Machiavelli, Montesquieu, Tocqueville, Durkheim, and a host of camp followers. Nor, if I may be permitted the rank meiosis, is Marx an unwavering empiricist; you can do a lot with sociology, but you cannot deduce the apocalypse from it. What M&B have in common is not exclusive to them and it can be made to seem so only by exaggerating the size of this common property through eliding and conflating quite distinct ideas.



I FANCY I detect three such elisions, but as Miss Bevan's argument is so wide ranging and elliptical it is hard to be sure. Briefly then, by minimizing the religious strain in Burke, she is able to assert that, as far as political doctrine goes, M&B share a "materialist" viewpoint. Now I suspect that she is here eliding Marx's materialism (the doctrine that nothing exists except matter) with Burke's realism (belief in the real existence of matter as the object of perception).

Again, she talks of Burke's belief in compromise as the solvent of political conflict as if it were the same thing as synthesis in the Marxist dialetic. But surely compromise is the acceptance by both sides of *less* than each wanted, whereas the notion of synthesis involves an assertion that out of the clash of opposites something *greater* emerges. Compromise accepts the limitations of the given world; synthesis transcends them.

Thirdly, Miss Bevan talks of M&B as "historicists." But historicism can be applied in two quite different senses: in the Marxist sense, the one so cogently attacked by Popper ("a theory that emphasizes the importance of history as a standard of value or as a determinant of events"—Webster's—and hence the belief that there are laws of history which make it possible to

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prophesy the course of historical events) and also in the sense in which Burke s a historicist, rather weakly defined by the Oxford English Dictionary as 'the conception of phenomena in the historical process as the outcome of human activity." It is a distinction, if you like, between history making us and us making history, in the last resort between determinism and free will—a distinction surely worth making.

These comparative essays multiply pace. Miss Bevan herself records in er bibliography: *Montesquieu and urke, Burke and Adam Smith, Glad-one and Burke, Rousseau and Burke, Marx and Bauer, Marx and Max tirner, Marx and Moses Hess, Marx nd Mill, Marx and Tocqueville*, and on. They are always enjoyable, ough not always as lively as this one, nd yet in the end we begin to wonder hether as Burke himself said of the dlessly repeated comparison between e life of a nation and the life of an dividual: "Parallels of this sort rather rnish similarities to illustrate or to lorn than supply analogies from hence to reason."

Scholars in the field may, however, e interested to learn that I am con-mplating a critical essay comparing r the first time Karl Marx with an-her thinker, working in a different edium, whose influence has proved most equally seminal; both were Jew-h outsiders in a nominally Christian ciety, both had early struggles before chieving a public following, both were riven on by the urge to penetrate be-eath the mask of conventional bour-eois society, both theoretical believers fraternity while personally malevo-nt and vindictive, both intensely alive the importance of the economic mo-ve and brilliant exponents of irony as polemical weapon, both afflicted with cial hair, and, most remarkable co-cidence of all, both having the same rname. □

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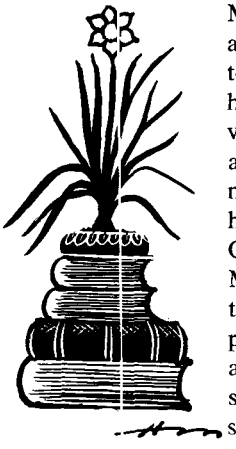
erdinand Mount *is the author of* The heatre of Politics. . . . **Thomas Enge-an** *is a research associate at Henry alvatori Center, Claremont Men's Col-ge. . . .* **Edwin M. Yoder Jr.** *is as-ociate editor of the* Greensboro Daily lews *in North Carolina. . . .* **William . Allen** *is assistant professor of gov-rnment at Harvey Mudd College/ laremont Graduate School. . . .* **Wil-am J. Winslade** *is professor of philos-phy at the University of California, iverside.*

Karl Marx: His Life and Thought
By David McLellan
Harper, 498 pp., $12.50

MISSING MARX'S GREATNESS

THOMAS ENGEMAN

David McLellan's biography is a notable addition to the field of Marx scholarship. The general reader, if he is persistent—and persistence is required, for this book is neither lively nor short—can benefit from the comprehensiveness of McLellan's analysis, while the scholar can profit from the copious notes and bibliography. However, the greatest praise which can be made of McLellan's *Marx* originates not from these things, but from his commendable desire to do Marx justice.



McLellan presents a composite of three themes in Marx's life: personal, political, and intellectual. Personal history presents obvious difficulties to a scholar who is not also a poet (and how many are?). One cannot fault McLellan if this theme, which is presented fully and accurately, is also slightly stiff. Even so, the troubles which dogged Marx and his family as they withstood poverty, ill health, and perpetual exile cannot help but excite the reader's pity, in spite of an occasional reflection that Marx's often pretentious squandering of scanty resources brought many of his troubles upon himself.

The theme of political history is confusing and, I am sure, hard to follow for someone unfamiliar with the intricacies of nineteenth century European affairs. Furthermore, the relevance of the events McLellan relates is often obscure: they are treated in conjunction with Marx's life with little regard to the background that gives them perspective. Other than the lively and fascinating chapter on the International, the political excursions are repetitious and dull. Even the revolutionary excitement of 1848 is missing.

The real heart of the book lies, of course, in McLellan's analysis of Marx's thought. McLellan has made a reputation in recent years as a translator, editor, and exegete of the early Marx. For McLellan the key to Marx is the concept of alienation, and emphatically not the "scientific" theories of surplus value and dialectical materialism. McLellan explains his understanding of Marx more clearly in his earlier book, *Marx before Marxism* (1970), than he does here. "The second of Marx's analyses, and the one most evident in his early writings, that of alienation, has acquired an importance far greater than he imagined. . . . This is the same conception that has been taken up and so strikingly analyzed, particularly by such writers as Marcuse and Lukacs, under the name 'reification.'"

It is important to understand that what Marx means by alienation—man's inability to control the goal and to possess the products of his creative activity—is not what existential thinkers such as Heidegger mean by that term. Alienation for Heidegger is equivalent to Marxian freedom; technology destroys the inner sense of Being rooted in the nontechnological tradition. Marx's solution to the problem of alienation through universal ownership of the technological means of production represents for such philosophers simply another stage in the "flight from Being."

Marx's greatness, which McLellan fails to articulate fully, lies in his passionate critique of capitalism and also in his solution to the problems of modern life created by capitalism. The critique and the revolutionary solution are inseparable: if the critique is accurate the solution is inevitable. Marx claims that his understanding is true (scientific). Marx persuades and exhorts his readers to revolution so that a better world may be born; it is this exhortation (based on the critique) that still rocks the foundations of liberal and traditional societies. To minimize the critique and the exhortation, as McLellan does in asserting that Marx placed too great an emphasis on his major doctrines of surplus value, dialectical materialism, and the inevitability of revolution and placed too little emphasis on some of his other insights such as alienation, is to eliminate the ground on which Marx asked to be judged, and so Marx's claim to greatness. If McLellan were to write Milton's *Paradise Lost*, one could easily imagine his cast-

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ing Marx as either God or Satan, for after McLellan had finished giving a "balanced" presentation, *sine ira et studio*, God would no longer be God, nor Satan, Satan.

Marx, I think, would rather be damned in the pages of NATIONAL REVIEW in a manner which recognizes the power of his thought and the profundity of his error, than praised by a careful and cautious scholar who concedes that although Marx was wrong in the main he was correct in some minor details.

I am not condemning scholarship of McLellan's type; it is always indispensable. I am suggesting that there are areas in which such a careful and cautious approach is in itself insufficient. To be specific, Marx claimed to have set forth the universal laws of social progress. A scholar cannot appreciate this claim unless he is willing to transcend the limits of his craft. How can Marx's claim be understood? McLellan suggests the path, although he is unwilling to follow it through to its conclusion. Marx believed that history must and would verify his thought, for the laws of dialectical materialism are drawn from the real world and can *only* be verified there. If the critique of capitalism is wrong (which is generally admitted with regard to Marx's prediction that the proletariat in the industrial nations would become increasingly pauperized, to take only one possible example), then on Marx's own grounds his critique of capitalism, as well as his revolutionary solution, must be reexamined and, I believe, rejected. McLellan is either unable or unwilling to follow Marx's thought this far. Where reflection is required one finds footnotes.

Therefore, despite the comprehensiveness and the meticulousness of McLellan's biography, it will not, in my opinion, become a monument in this field. For it does not confront the issues that animated Marx on the level on which Marx himself confronted them. Nietzsche's defense of Schopenhauer might profitably be recalled here as a reminder that philosophy is a combination of caution and courage: "The errors of great men are more fruitful [for good and evil] than the truths of little men." □

Great Tom: Notes towards the Definition of T. S. Eliot
By T. S. Matthews
Harper, 219 pp., $8.95

ELEGANT POTBOILER

EDWIN M. YODER JR.

T. S. Eliot has been dead for almost a decade and his widow, according to the author of this interim sketch, is looking for a biographer. Matthews himself is not her man. He wrote one of our best autobiographies (*Name and Address*), but his attempt to portray the elusive Mr. Eliot does not come off.

To be fair about it, the former editor-in-chief of *Time* Magazine did not choose the subject. It chose him; or rather his editors at Harper & Row chose him because, he explains, of "the general similarity of our upbringing and background." Alas, it was a mismatch.

Matthews gets into the basic story well enough—Eliot's birth, the last of seven children, of self-consciously New England stock in St. Louis; his early education; his career at Harvard, where the influence of Bertrand Russell, of all people, pushed him toward the study of philosophy; his European travels; his sad first marriage. His theory of Eliot is even, I suppose, plausible: the victim, as he sees it, of a fossilized Puritan heritage—a man of powerful affective and sexual drives crimped and confined by a tyrannical superego and thwarted by the coldness of a hypochondriacal wife who developed "raging migraines" in the face of his advances.

How much of this is fact, how much gossip, how much mere speculation (of which there is far too much throughout), it is often difficult to guess. When the facts become sketchy or inaccessible, Matthews has frequent resort to speculation and editorializing. For example: "The pitiless, lurking, savage hunter and the circumspect, rigidly conformist Puritan—these two mutually hostile sides of [Eliot's] nature must have begun their lifelong warfare in his childhood." Must have? It is the signature of guesswork. There was something in Eliot's private behavior—for example, his abandonment of his first wife, Vivienne Haigh-Wood, after some 18 years of marriage—that was arguably "pitiless," if only in its furtiveness, although Matthews shows that Eliot refused to remarry and kept distant watch over her until her death.

Gossipy as they are, and sometimes garrulously argumentative, the biographical parts of *Great Tom* are more satisfactory than its judgments on poetry and criticism, which are almost uniformly dilettantish or equivocal, or both. For example:

Case 1: Pound and *The Waste Land*. Eliot's most famous poem, written down in 1921, was sharply edited for him by that sedulous literary midwife, patron, and catalyst Ezra Pound. The recent facsimile edition of the manuscript, with Pound's corrections, has now precisely limned the role of *miglior fabbro*. For better or worse? is, of course, a matter of taste; but Matthews vacillates. He first declares that "without Pound's shaping hand the poem would have been "a jumble of first-rate, second-rate, and even third-rate verse in which some haunting beauties were embedded that Eliot himself was apparently incapable of distinguishing from the surrounding rubble." A dubious judgment, perhaps since Eliot was already an accomplished poet with major work behind him and one really doesn't know what he might have cut himself without Pound's prompting; but tenable. The point is, a few pages later Matthews begins to argue with Pound (and therefore with himself) over some of the deletions, especially the 70 lines of Popean heroic couplets that Pound pruned: "It is quite true that they are not as good Pope, but they are better than most such imitations."

Case 2: Eliot as critic. In the end Matthews accepts the general judgment that Eliot was a great critic, in the tradition of Dr. Johnson and Matthew Arnold; but before that he introduces Eliot, the critic, as "a martinet of a teacher who demands our silent assent but whose omniscient authority we privately take leave to doubt . . . a coal carbon dioxide." Hugh Kenner, in his *Invisible Poet*, has done a closer reading of the early critical essays and has discerned in their schoolmasterish tone a subtle mockery of the critical tones and vogues of the publications Eliot wrote for.

But if Matthews tends to miss such

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RANDOM NOTES

UST OUT: Joachim Fest's *Hitler* is big nd ambitious (Harcourt, $15). From the ame house, Konrad Lorenz' *Civilized Man's Eight Deadly Sins* ($4.95). . . . ohn R. Coleman took a year off presid-ıg over Haverford College to work as itchdigger, dishwasher, and garbageman, ecords it all in *Blue-Collar Journal* for ippincott ($6.95). . . . Jack Newfield overs a batch of legal horrors in *Cruel nd Unusual Justice* (Holt, $7.95). . . . s long-lived as he is productive, *Irving erlin* finally gets a biography, Michael reedland's (Stein & Day, $8.95). . . . Not any humor books on the spring lists, so aybe you'd better settle for *Sybil Leek's odiac of Love* (Regnery, $7.95). . . . ow in a new edition, the invaluable *xford Dictionary of the Christian hurch* by F. L. Cross and E. A. Living-one (Oxford, $35).

Richard Ney is still sore at *The Wall reet Gang* (Praeger, $8.95). The same ıblisher assembles a picture book of affiti, *Watching My Name Go By*, with xt by Mailer ($14.95; paper, $7.95). . . . Reputedly the sole survivor of Katyn Forest, Eugenjusz Andrei Komorowski tells the bloody story in *Night Never End-g* (Regnery, $8.95). . . . Henry Pleas-its, member in good standing of one of e world's exclusive clubs, the discerning riters on pop music, presents *The Great merican Popular Singers* (Simon & huster, $8.95). . . . Déjà vu of the year could be *Agnew Untitled* by Jules Witcover and Richard Cohen (Viking, $8.95). From the same house, photos *About Russia* by Henri Cartier-Bresson at a capitalistic $18.95. . . . Notre Dame historian Marvin R. O'Connell studies *The Counter Reformation: 1559-1610* for Harper's "Rise of Modern Europe" series ($10).

Episcopal minister Tom Horner has a subject oft discussed but seldom put into a book: *Sex in the Bible* (Tuttle, $7.50). . . . *NR* contributor Selden Rodman talks with fellow writers in *Tongues of Fallen Angels* (New Directions, $12; paper, $3.75). . . . *Thirty Epigrams* by Richard O'Connell, illustrated, paperback (Atlantis Editions, 4910 N. 12th Street, Philadelphia, Pa. 19141, $1.50). Many of Richard O'Connell's epigrams first appeared in *NR*.

■ FILMS: *The Godfather—Part II* will feature Pacino but not Brando. . . . Roman Polanski is guiding Jack Nicholson, Faye Dunaway, and John Huston through *Chinatown*. . . . Lana Turner's back with Trevor Howard in *Persecution*. . . . *The Klansman*, from William Bradford Huie's novel, will star Richard Burton, Lee Marvin, and superback O. J. Simpson. . . . Dustin Hoffman plays *Lenny*, the Bruce with the dirty mouth. . . . *Lepke*, Gotham mob czar of the Thirties, should recharge Tony Curtis' career. . . . Peter Bogdanovich is directing *Daisy Miller*, the Henry James novella. . . . And if you're wondering about movie musicals, Lerner and Loewe are collaborating on a musical version of Saint-Exupéry's *The Little Prince*.

Montesquieu's Philosophy of Liberalism
By Thomas L. Pangle
University of Chicago, 336 pp., $10

A FAITH FOR MODERN REGIMES

WILLIAM B. ALLEN

At the time of the American founding, Montesquieu was the leading theorist cited as authority—he whose authority one could ill afford to cede to the political opposition. Today, Montesquieu appears as little more than a footnote between Hobbes-Locke and Hegel-Marx and is only remembered for a few practical proposals such as the confederated republic. Among the Founders, Alexander Hamilton, in his defense of the federalism of 1787, insisted that Montesquieu had transformed the meaning of federalism. It was Hamilton's claim that federalism was compatible with the large commercial republic and that this thesis came to light in its modern sense only when Montesquieu's practical proposals were considered in theoretical terms. Thus, he accused his adversaries, who also cited Montesquieu, of having grasped the "observations" in one part of the philosopher's masterwork without adverting to his "sentiments in another part." Not since Hamilton have we seen anyone take so seriously the uniqueness of Montesquieu's achievement as Professor Pangle, who similarly maintains that Montesquieu "portrays with attractive clarity many key practical proposals" while "veiling the first principles of politics."

According to Pangle, Montesquieu—"of the handful of thinkers" who originated liberalism—"emerges as the most helpful and relevant for us," for it was he who subjected the principles of liberalism to a "new analysis." A renewed study of Montesquieu, therefore, should cause us to reflect on those things fundamental to our regime:

> What we require and what we do not meet with in contemporary attempts to defend the liberal, open society is a sympathetic inquiry that goes to the roots, that does not take this society's existence or its desirability for granted.

Liberal intellectuals are no longer capable of responding to the radical critics

---

btle possibilities, it may be because s treatment of detail in the critical says is scandalously slipshod. Of liot's concept of the "objective cor-lative," for instance, he asks: "What ı earth does it mean? Well, as nearly you can put it into plain, unrunched English, it means a verbal ıage that works on the reader the ıme way it worked on the writer." To sure, the "objective correlative" is ınderously named, a fancy term for ı idea that Eliot developed when writ-g about the problem of Hamlet: it as, he said, what Shakespeare had ınd for Macbeth but not for Hamlet -a consistent system of imagery or ıetaphor capable of transmuting ıought into objective art. But a biogra-ıer who claims not to know what Eliot ıeans can hardly have thought seri-ısly about the revolution in twentieth ntury poetry in which Eliot was a ntral figure.

Indeed, one could compile at random om *Great Tom* an entertaining miscellany of assertions of dubious pertinence and accuracy—for example, the statement that John Milton was "cowardly." Why? Or the statement that poets, like mathematicians, tend to do their best work before the age of 30. Is this indeed a "truism"? If Yeats, for instance, had left off at 30 he would be remembered, if at all, as a post-Victorian, and not as the writer of "The Second Coming," "Leda and the Swan," "Sailing to Byzantium," and many other great poems written in his fifties, sixties, and seventies. Yeats was 73 when he published *Last Poems*. Then there are the mere howlers—for instance that Eliot loved the "seventeenth century" language of the English Prayer Book.

IT IS just as well that Matthews is not a declared candidate for biographer of Eliot; for despite the affinities of background and biography that sent his publishers knocking on his door, he has produced, I greatly fear, an elegant potboiler. □

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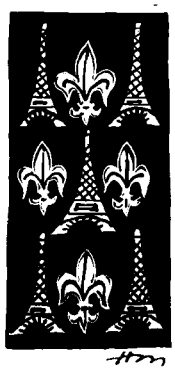
of our society, since they no longer possess "faith in the validity of evaluative reason." The challenge of left liberalism has disclosed a defect of right liberalism. This work seeks to supply the defect and, I believe, in important measure succeeds.

THE DEFECT of right liberalism was the notion that man's selfish desires could furnish the complete basis for his attachment to a regime and obviate the necessity for reasoned reflection on the nature of that regime. Hence, once natural rights were discovered and a regime established, there remained only the flurry of interested activity to keep it in motion. Pangle argues that Montesquieu was the first who, while portraying the charms of such a vision, introduced another principle—history—as the basis of attachment to such a state. His principles were, in essence, still Hobbesian, based on natural rights; the history was only incidental. In agreement with Montesquieu, the Founders, such as Madison in *Federalist* No. 49, recognized that *this* regime would require a certain opinion to sustain it and that this *opinion* ought to be fortified by examples not merely numerous but ancient. But Montesquieu's philosophical successors could not or would not follow his cautious admonition that history could be used not to *legitimate* but only to *sanctify* political arrangements. History, for Montesquieu, was a tool for legislators or statesmen, its use to be guided by rules of prudence. He envisioned, therefore, that natural right was incapable of perpetuating political institutions though it could alone provide the legitimate basis for such institutions.



The turn to history as not only sanctifying but legitimating was in fact a rejection of the natural right tradition. What Pangle demonstrates is that the historicist abandonment of natural right is also the rejection of faith in evaluative reason. Hence, the crisis of modernity is seen as the unwise rejection of the fundamental principle of modernity without a concomitant detachment from the aspirations of modernity. This crisis is most vividly symbolized politically in the challenge of the Marxist historical vision, and academically in the importance of existentialism.

The return to Montesquieu is an attempt to deal with the crisis by reconsidering the charm, the dignity of the original vision (the emancipation from intolerance, religious and racial, imparted by easy commerce in goods and beliefs), and those other alternatives it supplanted so thoroughly that few terms remain with which to discuss them. That a legitimate defense of monarchy is possible is overshadowed by what Tocqueville described as the irresistible progress of equality. That there may be several rather than one form of republicanism is obscured by the universality of the principle. These are the kinds of questions which Pangle finds it possible to raise after consulting Montesquieu. A return to the fundamentals makes it possible to provide that kind of defense liberal democracy requires of its conservators if it is to resist successfully the impulse to abandon all rule as merely arbitrary and hence illegitimate. And, as Montesquieu maintains, the impulse to abandon all rule is at once the impulse to establish tyrannical rule.

Though Pangle succeeds in providing this insight into the modern crisis, he does leave the suggestion that what is new in Montesquieu's "new analysis" of the principles of modernity is only a sensitivity to the requirements of public opinion coupled with a sensitivity to the demands of different circumstances, rather than a genuine understanding of the defect of right liberalism. However, it is unclear how deep the defect goes. That Montesquieu should have been concerned with the necessity of enshrouding modern regimes in a faith that more lay at their foundations than was really there suggests a radical understanding of that defect. What we now require, therefore, is some consideration of the sense in which Montesquieu was more radical than his predecessors, the sense in which the very limit of evaluative reason could be the basis for preserving faith both in reason and a product of reason, modern regimes. What is at stake is man's ability to discern and choose legitimate politics and the necessity of rejecting tyranny as an error. That is a theoretical goal, and what we wish to know is the nature of that politics which might accomplish it. Pangle's work commences that task. □

Law, Legislation, and Liberty
Volume One: Rules and Order
By F. A. Hayek
University of Chicago, 184 pp., $7.9

SPONTANEOUS ORDERS

WILLIAM J. WINSLADE

In an era plagued by the myopia c specialization, there is an urgent nee for thinkers whose vision enables ther to see connections among discipline such as law, economics, science, anthrc pology, and ethics. Only if the soci order is approached from a plurality c perspectives can one achieve coherer and systematic understanding. F. A Hayek is one scholar whose writings i social philosophy reveal not only depi of research and breadth of coverag but also an elegant prose style designe for the general reader as well as ac demic specialists. This review concer only the first volume (called *Rules ar Order*) of his *Law, Legislation, an Liberty*. Hayek critically examines the historical and conceptual foundations of the legal order "most conducive to the preservation of individual freedom." Subsequent volumes will be *The Mirage of Social Justice* and *Tl Political Order of a Free Society*.

HAYEK, like the rest of us, is trouble by runaway government. He thinks th constitutionalism, which is supposed t mean limited government, has degei erated into virtually omnipotent an unlimited government. The boundari which define the individual's sphere c immunity from governmental encroacl ment are becoming blurred; as goverr mental power continues to expand ur checked, individual liberty is threatene with extinction. Although most peopl hesitate to agree with Hayek that cor stitutionalism has already failed, on begins to realize how much power ha been vested in the government when dogmatically dictates policies in nation emergencies. Perhaps we have bee seduced by the rhetoric of individu freedom while losing touch with it reality.

Hayek's book is valuable because

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imulates "a critical reexamination not nly of current beliefs but of the real ieaning of some fundamental concepons to which we pay lip service." He lentifies important factors which have ontributed to the decline of constituonalism and to the failure of the octrine of separation of powers to strain governmental expansion. One ctor is blind faith in the use of reason guide the course of human affairs. nother is misconceptions about the igin and development of social order. third is failure to appreciate the cessity for strictly upholding and plying principles designed to protect dividual liberty. Misunderstanding the ture and purpose of law has led to a stortion of the proper roles of the dge and the legislator. Hayek probes eply into the history of human society well as the theory of social order. He seeks to expose the causes of our current predicament and to propose principles for reform.

The importance of reason in forming nd regulating social institutions has been greatly exaggerated. It has been assumed that human institutions are worthy of respect only if they are the products of deliberate design. This leads to "contempt for tradition, custom, and history in general." Another error is the belief that a desirable social order can be constructed through reason alone with the assistance of science. This sts on the mistaken assumption that man conduct and institutions can be mpletely subjected to rational control. response to such rationalism Hayek gues that many human institutions ow out of customs, habits, and prac-es that do not bear the stamp of nscious human design. Many of the les followed by human beings arise om their efforts to adapt to inescapable norance of the millions of facts which termine the course of human affairs. ne rules and practices which comse our cultural heritage have develed through a slow process of evotion that often does not reflect nscious human intentions. In short, man beings, like animals, must learn om experience. Reason alone cannot ide us through the labyrinth of ciety, for "it is always only in comnation with particular, nonrational npulses that reason can determine hat to do, and its function is essenally to act as a restraint on emotion, to steer action impelled by other ctors."

Social order is not a product of human invention. Rather it originates and develops through a process of growth into a functioning system as a result of mutual adaptation of interdependent elements. The market in economics and the organism in biology are what Hayek calls "spontaneous orders." Similarly, language, morals, and much law are best understood as human institutions produced by spontaneous ordering forces which, once developed, can then be modified by deliberate design. The underlying structures as a whole cannot be explained as human inventions because these orders have achieved a degree of complexity beyond that which a human mind can master, much less deliberately arrange. Understanding of the social order is limited to abstract relations among the elements, the general patterns rather than the particular details. Predictability in the realm of human action, for example, is limited to tendencies and probabilities based on patterns abstracted from the welter of detail.

Hayek believes that individual freedom can be preserved only if principles which limit the coercive power of government are rigorously upheld. If principles of freedom, such as those incorporated in the Bill of Rights, are sacrificed to political expediency, the existence of freedom is in peril. We must be constantly vigilant in resisting efforts to curtail freedom in the name of science or social planning.

In the last three chapters the nature of law, the functions of the judge, and the role of the legislator are reexamined. Hayek argues that much law must be seen as arising from custom and precedent. Law rests upon unarticulated rules of conduct which make the peaceful existence of individuals in society possible. The articulation of the common law by English jurists, for example, made explicit the deeply entrenched traditions that guided human expectations and behavior. This suggests that the rules of law are discovered by judges rather than created by the will of a ruler. It is one of Hayek's primary contentions that the source of many of our current problems is the failure to appreciate how many of the rules underlying human society are not the product of human design. Human beings have mistakenly supposed that, because rules created to organize and direct the apparatus of government are a result of conscious decision, all social rules can be legislated. The arrogance of the legislator is a companion to the illusion of the scientific rationalist. Neither realizes that the course of human affairs cannot be predicted and planned. Legislation should be limited to controlling and directing agencies of government. The rules that determine what conduct is generally right should be discovered by judges who reflect upon the customs, traditions, and practices which are deeply rooted in our cultural heritage. Hayek urges us all to reflect upon and to rediscover the significance of the history and traditions which underlie our common human condition. □

BOOKS IN BRIEF

PHILBY: THE LONG ROAD TO MOSCOW, *by Patrick Seale and Maureen McConville (Simon & Schuster, 282 pp., $8.95)*. After 27 years as a Soviet agent, Kim Philby skipped over to Moscow in 1963—just before the British secret service he had betrayed was about to arrest him. Enough time having elapsed in their opinion, British journalists Seale and McConville have made "a dispassionate reappraisal" of the man who successfully penetrated the upper echelons of British intelligence. The authors don't consider Philby at all infamous, just "an ordinary man in an extraordinary situation." Like so many young people of the Thirties, Philby thought Communism the only answer to Fascism. He became a Communist spy in 1936, and from then on, the authors say, he was trapped—he knew too much for the Soviets to let him go (although the authors never supply any evidence he wanted to). Besides self-preservation, other things kept Philby a Communist: an arrogance that wouldn't admit error and a satisfaction in being part of what he called "an elite force." Once we understand these factors, the authors say, we should understand Mr. Philby. For their part, the authors respect him, "his is a cultivated, even a humane, sensibility." They admire "the steadiness and integrity of his political positions." (Many wavered in their devotion to Stalin, never Philby.) Being dispassionate, the authors point out that Philby has his faults, that he betrayed his friends and country, destroyed a couple of his wives, and directly caused the deaths of many men. If you quibble at such things, the authors would like you to know that Philby too has suffered—he's not as healthy as he used to be.

KEVIN LYNCH

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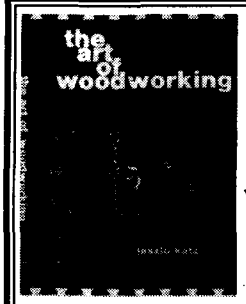

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MUHLEN

(Continued from page 430)

and also like many others they tend to blame it on their government. Exorbitant union demands for pay hikes and threatened strikes and actual work stoppages in mail deliveries, airport ground services, and other essential public services resulted in a government backdown and seemed to the people yet another sign of weakness in the Brandt administration. Many Germans fear the economic effects of the recently enacted "co-determination" law which gives workers in large corporations a voice and a power equal to that of management in running the enterprise, a law proposed by leftist union leaders and supported by Brandt's government. Brandt's sizable low-interest long-term credits to Communist countries such as Yugoslavia have added fuel to the general discontent.

Ostpolitik, that much heralded new foreign policy of friendship with the Communist East, has lost a good deal of its attraction because of the growing and well founded impression that Bonn gave away much to Moscow and received little in return. The de facto recognition of Soviet-occupied Eastern Germany, the "People's Democratic Republic," has not led to the expected liberalization of its oppressive regime. Moreover, the status of West Berlin appears at least as insecure as and probably more so than before, as the East Germans still prove on occasion when they interfere with free access to, or free politics in, that city. Egon Bahr, Willy Brandt's closest confidant and the chief architect of Ostpolitik, seems to be Germany's most unpopular figure today.

Germans are equally frustrated by the continual setbacks to the emergence of that "strong, unified Europe independent of both superpowers" which Brandt had predicted for 1980. Although they are aware that Paris has done more to shatter that vision than Bonn, it is by now generally considered an impossible draw. Brandt wavers between Paris and Washington and throws an occasional flirtatious glance toward Moscow. Sometimes he sides with Washington, as he did at the energy conference in February, then again he follows Paris, as he did at the planned Arab-European oil meeting. This tends to confirm widespread suspicion that he is no longer sure what he is doing, and certainly not in command of his ship.

The discrepancy between Brandt's earlier image as a charismatic leader and his subsequent record explains t some degree why Germans have turne against him. But the Social Democrat ideology as personified by Brandt h a lot to do with his present unpopulari also. He has never quite been able decide just how much socialism l favors. A radical socialist in his yout later a liberal of the Left, he persi in regarding Communists as stray brothers who will eventually refor while the archenemy, for him, was ways and still is on the Right. A Du cek of the free world, Brandt believ in the possibility of building "socialis with a human face," an illusion n being destroyed by the conflicting talitarian and democratic forces witl his party and his country, as was Du cek's by Soviet tanks.

Once a picture of good health, sun disposition, and earthy strength, toc Brandt presents to the world a ma like face, very old and very sad. D enchantment has set in. Recently confided to several of his party friends that he doesn't want to carry on any more. He is especially hurt by acid a tacks from comrades within his ow party who yesterday were praising him extravagantly; now they censure him for his indecision, his inability to lead, his defeats. Herbert Wehner, once a high ranking Communist and now the parliamentary leader of Brandt's party, has belittled him in talks with Soviet leaders in Moscow. Prominent intellectuals like the novelist Günter Grass who once boosted Brandt toward v tory, now charge their fallen idol w dereliction of duty. More loyal Soc Democrats propose quick, face-savi remedies: one would be to elect him the largely ceremonial post of Fede President, which will be vacant in M another would be to transfer his auth ity to an assistant chancellor, a n

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post for which the Secretary of the Treasury, Helmut Schmidt, a wiry, tough pragmatist, more interested in power politics than in socialism, would be the leading candidate. But as a highly placed Social Democrat recently remarked in a private conversation, Brandt won't resign, he will merely lead less and less. The odds are that this is a realistic estimate.

There is little chance that the opposition CDU-CSU party will force a showdown now or before the next elections in 1976. After failing in its 1972 attempt to reconquer power in premature elections, it does not feel certain enough now of a clear victory and cannot risk a new defeat. And new opposition leaders and programs are developing slowly. After the disappointment caused by Willy Brandt and his team as well as by his unfulfilled promises, Germans will be cautious, if not skeptical, about picking a new government and, for that matter, about making any new political commitments. □

LETTERS

(Continued from page 404)

who has anything to say or show. All letters will be promptly acknowledged, and any papers enclosed copied and returned with thanks. My mailing address is c/o Martin Secker & Warburg Ltd., 14 Carlisle Street, London Wl, England.
London IAIN HAMILTON

In "Solzhenitsyn at Bay" [Feb. 15] Wm. F. Buckley Jr. writes: "Though Solzhenitsyn is only one man, his elimination would amount to an act of genocide." I agree with your reasoning, but how about coining a new and more apt term to describe the crimes of Communists, "credocide" for instance?

Since the Nazis were exterminating people because of the "wrong" blood, the "wrong" genes, the term "genocide" was especially tailored for them. Lenin started to exterminate people with the "wrong" creed some 20 years before Hitler started his "cleaning" operations; Hitler departed from the human race almost three decades ago, but Lenin's disciples are still with us and will continue with all their "heroic" deeds for as long as we can see in the future; they certainly have earned the right to an apt description for their "labors." Why not credocide?
Bronx, N.Y. ALFREDS E. BRAUNFELDS

Correction

Alas, there was not only an earthquake of at least Richter 4 in California, Alaska, *or* Japan ["Notes & Asides," March 1], but at least one each in California and Alaska.

1. Southern California, February 21, 1973, 14h 45m 57.3s 34.065°N, 119.035°W, magnitude 5.9.

2. Southern Alaska, January 9, 1973, 11h 57m 21.02s, 60.3°N, 146.0°W, magnitude 5.1.

There were also quakes of Richter 4 or greater magnitude from January through April 1973 in these other states: Nevada, New Mexico, Wyoming, Idaho, and Hawaii. An examination of the full catalogue of 1973 events will undoubtedly show such events in other states. At least one event occurred early in the year in the Bonin Islands, which are a Japanese possession (January 31, 1973, 20h 55m 53.1s, 28.2° N, 139.2°E, magnitude 6.3). The full 1973 catalogue will undoubtedly show several Richter 4 events on the main islands of Japan.

While first prize in the Prophet of the Year contest will remain unchanged, clearly second prize is up for grabs. As an aside, the probability that the subject question is false for any year is minute.
Washington, D.C. CHARLES C. THIEL
Program Manager
Earthquake Engineering
National Science Foundation

Humblest apologies to all our readers, and thanks to Mr. Thiel. Fortunately, the Prophet of the Year winner and all the runners-up had marked that question True, so it does not affect the outcome of the contest. —ED.

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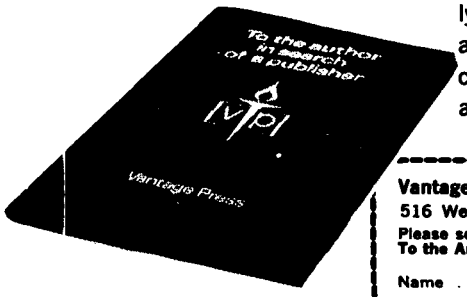

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MUGGERIDGE
(Continued from page 429)

preserving traditional Canadian values and resisting the homogenizing influence of technology. Russell Kirk, were he Canadian, would write for it. Canadian chic has indeed gone far.

The extent to which public opinion has been permanently affected by U.S. branch plant radicalism is difficult to assess. There are still plenty of Canadians who are suspicious of foreign car owners Our New Democratic Party, which advocates the mildest form of state capitalism, and studiously excludes the word "socialist" from its propaganda, has difficulty avoiding the Communist stigma. In Quebec, the second largest provincial party recently came out in favor of banning the birth control pill. It is going back to the cradle as French Canada's last best hope of survival.

The gospel according to Angela is preached most adamantly in high schools and colleges. A student who had been through the new politics mill thus recorded her impressions of the United States: "When I think of the United States today, words such as foolish, extravagant, disordered, and materialistic pop into mind. Naturally, being Canadian, I hear the United States ridiculed around me." Materialism, she concludes, "has long been a thin haze around the United States. It is a chrome-plated country with two cars in every garage and a pool in every back yard." Wrote another student on the same subject: "They are a country filled with hate and violence." A third had been taught to believe that "most worldwide crimes happen in the United States."

Yet, how far are these statements simply pious platitudes put in to win teacher approval, answers to questions remembered from catechism class? Solzhenitsyn must have been reared a good Marxist. No doubt he produced well written orthodox school essays. Perhaps when amnesty is declared, and all those teaching jobs in mainland China are opened to our grumbling, underworked pedagogues, we Canadians can go back to being conservatively anti-American. □

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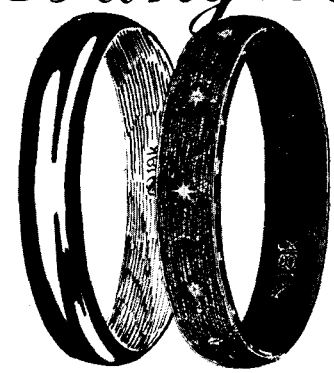

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Kenyan Frustration

On The Right

Nairobi, March 25—Well, now, I have a tale to tell. There I was at the studio in Nairobi, waiting for the Foreign Minister to do an hour's television on the theme, "Black Africa Looks at White Africa." Dr. Njeroge Mungai (he is a medical doctor, licensed to practice after completing studies at Stanford, California and internship in New York City) had said he wanted to talk to me briefly before the tape began to roll, and I said sure.

He was a half hour late, having met with the President—his boss, his personal patient, and Kenya's God—and he sat down easily and smilingly in the waiting room, and we exchanged pleasantries. What, I said finally, looking a little apprehensively at the clock, did you want to discuss in advance of the program? Well, he said, as Foreign Minister I would be very embarrassed if you were to get into the subject of Nixon and Watergate. No problem, I said. Anything else? Well, he said, as Foreign Minister I couldn't criticize any other African state or its leaders or its policies.

We were there, of course, to criticize white Africa, which is to say South Africa, Rhodesia, Mozambique, and Angola. "Those are not states," Dr. Mungai corrected me: "they are colonies—white colonies." All right, I said, but the argument against these states is that their policies are racist in foundation, but this requires us to probe definitions, and in order to do that, it becomes necessary to probe the policies of other African states that might be called racist in character.

But he declined. Declined even to decline during the televised exchange to answer such questions: such questions were simply not to be put to him. "Well," I said sadly, "it's your country. But it's my program." So I scrubbed the show.

Bright idea. Could he suggest a prominent Kenyan journalist or academician who would be able to discuss freely the policies of other African countries? Nobody in Kenya—Dr. Mungai smiled, but there was a touch of steel there—would be willing to criticize another African country. I got the picture and exchanged a glance with my producer. We were, after all, sitting in government studios. And we had been told, in almost as many words, that nobody in Kenya would, from that studio, criticize another government in Africa. I have made inquiries, and here is a more precise way of putting it. You can find, in Kenya, black intellectuals and black journalists who will criticize, say, the expulsion of the Asian minority by Amin in Uganda. But you can't find a black intellectual or a black journalist who will criticize the government of Kenya for failure to criticize the government of Uganda for expelling the Asians. What would happen to someone if he did criticize the government, I asked? Oh, it depends who it was, I was told. Maybe he would lose his work permit, maybe they'd just find a way of putting him in jail. Dr. Mungai likes to talk about the "fascist policies" of Rhodesia, South Africa, and Portugal.

Things here in Nairobi are to be sure unusually touchy just now. Yesterday the Kenya Parliament, whose members are all Kenyatta's men—there is no parliamentary opposition—struck out against a television profile shown the day before in Britain of Jomo Kenyatta. The profile was done by Lord Chalfont, a former Labor Minister, who criticized in language entirely moderate the imperial habits to which President Kenyatta increasingly is given. "Worship of 'Mzee' (the Father) [has become] a national habit and even receives legislative sanction. Any disrespect for his person has been made an offense, and any settler found guilty of it, even in the form of a joke, was liable to be expelled from Kenya."

And Lord Chalfont went on, "'Harambee,' which can be roughly translated as 'we'll all pull together,' but which has no other connection with the Eton boating song, has become Kenya's national slogan, and although it is demonstrably a less sinister slogan than 'Sieg Heil,' its effect on a crowd of hero-worshiping followers is not to be underestimated."

From all of which one deduces that a public discussion inquiring into why the President of Kenya does not criticize racist policies committed by black men could be interpreted as, well, disparaging of the leadership of Mzee. In Parliament yesterday, an assistant minister demanded that the local BBC facility should be closed down "until the BBC comes down on its knees, begging for it to be reopened." And Vice President Moi said that foreigners "have nothing to teach Kenyans. . . . In fact, if anything, Kenya can teach them many lessons. Contrary to what some people try to make us believe, the African way of civilization is the best." He was talking about the streaking craze. "These foreigners go 'streaking,' running naked everywhere," he said scornfully, to which I suppose Lord Chalfont might have responded that the streakers are only going about in what many Africans consider their native dress.

But that would sound invidious, and it is important to recall that Lord Chalfont said that it is his opinion that Kenyatta is a good man, perhaps even a great man. But that Kenya is slipping, perhaps unconsciously, into the habit of dictatorship. □

THE DAY'S BAG IN SOUTH AFRICA

Durban, March 22—It is unappreciated just how free the press is in South Africa. And one cannot imagine a better case being made for a free press than by citing the South African example. Consider, from a single edition of the *Durban Daily News*:

The headline is "Black Couple Quits Hotel." A black American journalist and his wife were traveling here. When that happens, the government advises the restaurants and hotels on the itinerary of the event, and the rules of social segregation are suspended. On this occasion apparently the news was not thoroughly communicated, and a bartender refused, on the grounds that his client was black, to sell him a drink; whereupon the American checked out.

I like to think that if I were an American black I would either refuse to go to South Africa; or, if I did, that I would patronize only those public places open to black South Africans. Be that as it may, it is thoroughly refreshing that this should be front-page news. My hosts here (who are white) have been deeply embarrassed by the episode, and one can't help but assume that an accumulation of such incidents leads to—reform. And—always—impatient Americans should bear in mind that only ten years ago, in the American South, there was the same sort of thing.

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Why should we, the most advanced country in the world, with a minority black population of only about 10 per cent, expect South Africa to progress, with a black racial population of 75 per cent, faster than we did? We were 30 years behind England in abolishing slavery. Why should we expect that South Africa, with problems distinctive to South Africa, should move at exactly the same speed achieved by our civil rights lobby?

Sir de Villiers Graaff, leader of the opposition United Party, is reported as saying in a speech last night that unless South African voters heed the problem, the upcoming elections might lead to "virtually a one-party state." That may be hyperbolic stuff—the United Party is not all that impoverished, having about 40 per cent of the seats in the present Parliament. On the other hand, this is the season for hyperbole, and it is reported in the same paper that one government politician admits that if the so-called Bantustans—the enclave black principalities spun off by the government—should suddenly turn belligerent against South Africa, "why we would just have to fight them." That is intended to please those in South Africa who believe that independence is coming too fast.

THIS IS a tough country. A young magistrate before whom two 20-year-olds were brought charged with "speeding"—not with violating safety laws, but speed laws designed to save fuel—sentenced them to be caned. The magistrate, the story reports, "decided on strokes because jailing them would have been wrong in view of their youth." Mr. Tempelhof said he would "welcome another such case, as this would hammer home the lesson that petrol must be saved." The young men, by the way, are white, not black. What strikes one here about the inexplicit premise of the story is that speeding where death may be the consequence is indulged. Where a shortage of fuel is in prospect, the punishment is draconian.

Another government parliamentary candidate warns that the terrorist activities in the north cannot realistically be held to be the concern only of the north. "The public should not become complacent. They must realize that South Africa and not its bordering countries is the ultimate aim of the infiltrators." He scored the opposition's main point. "The United Party's attitude is that South Africa's international relations are hopeless because of the government's separate-development policy. This is a very naive outlook. . . . One just has to look at Mozambique and Angola who have been fighting a terrorist war for ten years, despite the fact that the Portuguese apply a policy of racial integration." Not an easy point to contradict.

It is nightmarish, but it needs to be said again and again: there is motion in South Africa, it is in the right direction, and international impatience is something that needs fine tuning. It is one thing for black American journalists to raise hell, which is healthy. Something else to go to boycotts, let alone to aid the terrorists. □

AT THE EDGE IN RHODESIA

Salisbury, March 18—They will tell you in Rhodesia that the terrorists are under control, and that there is nothing to fear. In fact they are not under control, and the situation threatens to get worse, as why should it not with the Soviet Union beginning to compete with Red China in sending arms to the terrorists, and with assorted Protestant bishops standing by more or less to baptize a movement that is becoming as fashionable as the Black Panthers and the Vietcong. The casualties of the Mau Mau have been exaggerated in the popular historical imagination, like those of the Jacobins during the Reign of Terror. There were 32 white settlers killed by the Mau Mau over a period of four years. Double that number have been killed by the Rhodesian terrorists in 18 months.

But overwhelmingly the black population of Rhodesia is antiterrorist. There are complicated reasons for this. The first (and least obvious) is that black leaders do not share the revolutionary turn of mind of the terrorists and their backers. They see no advantage whatever in exchanging rule by a white elitist government headed by Ian Smith for a black ideological government headed by Peking or Moscow or its surrogates. For another, while they desire—indeed demand—change, they have not, yet, abandoned hope that orderly change will come under the nonviolent pressure of the predominantly (95 per cent) black population.

But this, I am led to believe, must come soon. Drastically compressed, here is the chronology of events, which are racing to a conclusion of sorts.

In 1965, the Rhodesians declared their independence of Britain. Almost immediately, the United Nations voted sanctions, which got progressively more stringent after supplementary resolutions in 1966 and 1968. In 1969, Prime Minister Ian Smith promulgated a constitution which would in effect have guaranteed white supremacy through the century and beyond. In 1971, Smith and British Foreign Minister Sir Alec Douglas-Home initialed an agreement calling for constitutional reform and additional opportunities for black political power. The agreement was subject to ratification by the black community which, in the finding of the so-called Pearce Commission the following spring, said no.

Probably it was a mistake not to implement the agreement anyway, for strategic reasons. But this was the electric political moment in Rhodesia when the blacks would see the papers' headline: Black Rhodesians Veto Westminster Pact. Things would never be the same again.

Gradually it has dawned on the white community that the critical man in their midst is a mild-mannered Methodist bishop, in his early forties, called Abel Muzorewa. He is said to be relatively without guile, and that's not all good—he is a procrastinator, an ambiguist, inexperienced in the unholy ideological ambitions of many of his fellow liberationists. On the other hand, no one suspects him of corruption of any kind, and I accept it as true that he has for the moment the singular power to prevent universal bloodshed in Rhodesia.

For how long? That is the dark question. There are secret negotiations going on at this moment between the bishop and Ian Smith. Smith is a man of quite extraordinary personal valor, who has become the symbol of white supremacy. Actually he is no more a white supremacist than George Wallace proved to be, when the social attitude changed. He is a good politician, but it is feared that at this moment he underestimates the resolve of the black majority to effect substantial change. And it is above all feared that if the bishop does not succeed in budging Smith, others—who would then declare impatiently their independence of Muzorewa—will embark on violent action. This would destroy Rhodesia. Smith tells his lieutenants that it would be political suicide for him to yield too much. So the question arises: is Smith statesman enough to avoid political suicide—by leading the white intransigents toward reconciliation and organic progress? The betting is that he could not persuade his own ministers to conciliate. But that if he went to the white voters, he would earn their support.

One hopes so. Not only in order to avoid catastrophe, but to indulge a valid social experiment. If a country 95 per cent black is willing to give the advanced white 5 per cent the major creative political and educational role for a specified period of time, so as to ascertain whether greater progress might not thereby be made than under the lash of the black nationalism of some of Rhodesia's neighbors, then a quality of moderation might make its way into African affairs which would be instructive not only for the black population in Rhodesia, but everywhere. And it is in any case difficult for a visitor to Rhodesia to count lightly the benefit of reconciliation for the white population, men and women of extraordinary charm and apparent goodwill. □

(Washington Star Syndicate, Inc.)

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Trans-O-Gram

By SVEND PETERSEN

DEFINITIONS

A. (With WORD C) What leaving the national debt to our children to pay results in
23 134 88 86 57 124 170 155

B. A crane fly
45 13 69 94 140 3 177 180 65 113
133 162 150

C. See WORD A
63 25 78 96 107 171 208 72 111 128
214

D. How twins enter the world
83 26 193 110 187 31 47 215

E. The pragmatism of Schiller
98 58 182 172 91 125 226 200

F. Horripilation
115 4 48 101 202 87 137 218 220 12

G. "We've always done it that way!"
75 79 196 173 136 190 61

H. DEAL EGO OUNCE with this
127 179 54 138 148 56 19 120 130 66
77 99

I. First name of Filipino leader, 1898
8 10 17 62 68 74

J. An event that causes temporary excitement
132 15 151 27 50 70 121 109 92 104
178 188 201 40

K. A false notion, belief or impression
135 46 119 122 154 164 174 184 206 6
221 131 20

L. This is needed to keep someone at arms' length
141 167 157 112 103 147 199 210 203

M. Parts of fingerprints
185 32 114 80 166 153

N. Inherent likeness of agreement
1 5 95 116 211 158 197 192

O. (With WORD P) A form of population control
11 2 43 59 71 93 222

P. See WORD O
195 82 89 223 36 55 145 159 175 28

Q. A promotion of a pupil to a higher class (*British*)
219 9 81 189 38 33

R. The ward many newcomers to a city see first
227 52 14 212 39 216 49 84 117

S. The opposite number to a maternity dress
204 51 97 146 44 64 76 126 181 198
24 35 129

T. Catarrh
34 41 73 194 105

U. A Japanese eye specialist whose test kept some American soldiers from being promoted, World War II
108 16 156 168 186 118 100 224

V. A daughter of Ahab and Jezebel
139 21 205 102 160 123 106 213

W. Instruments
144 85 161 225 207

X. Youthful
149 169 29 183 191 90 143 42

Y. One of the United States
152 22 163 53

Z. A city in New Hampshire
176 165 209 217 67 142

a. Horses have twice as many of these as people do
18 7 30 37 60

DIRECTIONS

The object of TRANS-O-GRAM is to fill out the puzzle diagram by guessing the WORDS (above) from their DEFINITIONS, and transferring each letter of the guessed word to the correspondingly numbered square in the diagram. When the diagram is filled out it will spell out a quotation from some published work (reading normally from left to right, black boxes indicating the ends of words); also, when the WORDS have all been filled in above, their initial letters will spell out the author and title of the quoted work. The acrostic feature, and the relative word-lengths in the diagram, will assist in the solution. Spelling and definitions on the authority of *Webster's New International Dictionary*, Second Edition.

See page 444 for solution of last Trans-O-Gram.

	1 N	2 O	3 B		4 F	5 N		6 K	7 a	8 I		9 Q	10 I	11 O	12 F	13 B	14 R	15 J	16 U
	17 I	18 a		19 H	20 K		21 V	22 Y	23 A		24 S	25 C	26 D	27 J	28 P		29 X	30 a	31 D
32 M	33 Q	34 T		35 S		36 P	37 a	38 Q	39 R	40 J		41 T	42 X	43 O	44 S	45 B		46 K	
47 D	48 F	49 R	50 J		51 S	52 R	53 Y	54 H	55 P		56 H	57 A	58 E	59 O	60 a	61 G	62 I	63 C	64 S
65 B		66 H	67 Z	68 I	69 B	70 J	71 O	72 C	73 T		74 I	75 G		76 S	77 H	78 C	79 G	80 M	81 Q
82 P	83 D	84 R	85 W	86 A		87 F	88 A	89 P		90 X	91 E	92 J	93 O	94 B		95 N	96 C	97 S	98 E
99 H	100U	101F		102V		103L	104J	105T	106V	107C		108U	109J		110D	111C	112L	113B	114M
115F	116N	117R	118U	119K	120H	121J		122K	123V	124A	125E	126S	127H	128C		129S	130H		131K
132J	133B		134A	135K	136G	137F	138H		139V		140B	141L	142Z	143X		144W	145P	146S	147L
148H		149X	150B		151J	152Y		153M	154K	155A	156U		157L	158N	159P	160V	161W	162B	163Y
164K	165Z	166M		167L	168U	169X	170A	171C	172E	173G	174K	175P	176Z		177B	178J		179H	180B
181S		182E	183X	184K		185M	186U	187D		188J	189Q	190G	191X		192N	193D	194T		195P
196G	197N		198S	199L	200E	201J		202F	203L	204S	205V	206K	207W	208C	209Z		210L	211N	
212R	213V	214C		215D	216R	217Z	218F	219Q		220F	221K	2220	223P		224U	225W	226E	227R	

Mr. Petersen's Trans-O-Grams are in book form, ($2.50) available from NR Box 1774.

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MILSTAR Corporate Squares at The Chatterbox Restaurant in Jefferson Square office building and shopping center complex, Columbia, S. C.

Milliken revolutionizes restaurant carpeting with loose-laid Corporate Squares

MILSTAR is the totally new concept in commercial carpeting developed by Milliken Research. Now in 18" carpet tiles it supplies a combination of innovations never before available for restaurants:

Longer Wear. Pile is fuse-bonded into vinyl plastisol, providing resilience and wear equal to or better than the finest tufted and woven constructions. Tuft lock is superior to any other cut pile construction.

Less Maintenance. Impermeable soil barrier back traps dirt on surface, contains spills in pile, makes cleaning easier.

Quick-Change Efficiency. MILSTAR Corporate Squares are dense-pile, snug-fitting, loose-laid tiles that need no adhesive. When spillage occurs soiled tiles can be replaced immediately by clean tiles on reserve. Results: Spilled food isn't tracked over carpet; maintenance cost is reduced; floor stays clean and attractive. Soiled tiles, easily cleaned, return to reserve.

This quick-change artistry is practiced successfully at The Jefferson Square Chatterbox Restaurant, shown above. Additional benefits: The carpet is anti-static, fade-resistant, with pile of 70% solution-dyed Acrilan® acrylic fiber and 30% super lightfast nylon. In numerous solid and coordinated tweed colors, MILSTAR Corporate Squares offer limitless possibilities for dramatically patterned floors. For details, call or write Deering Milliken, Inc., Contract Carpet Manager, LaGrange, Georgia 30240. (404) 883-5511.

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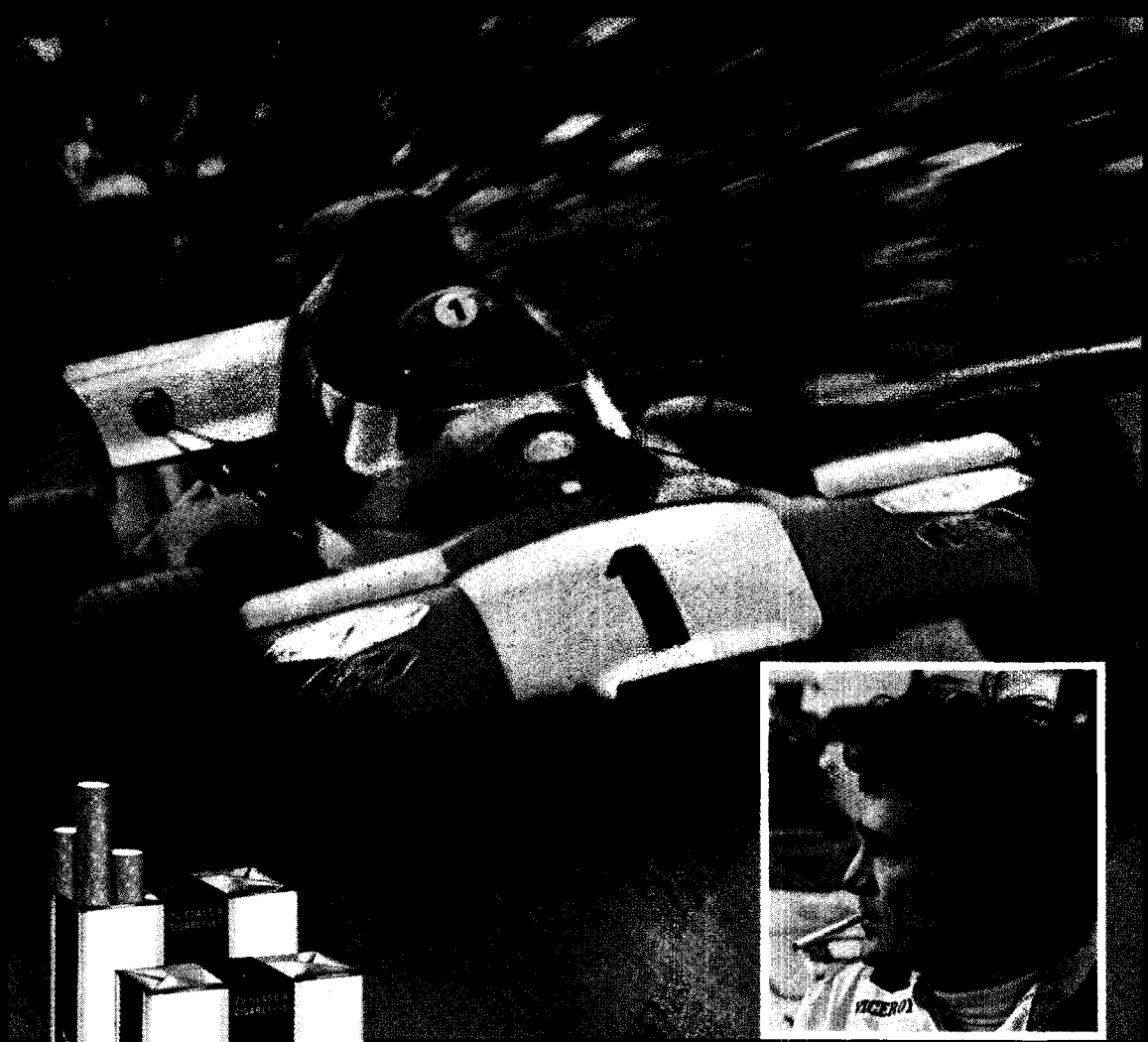
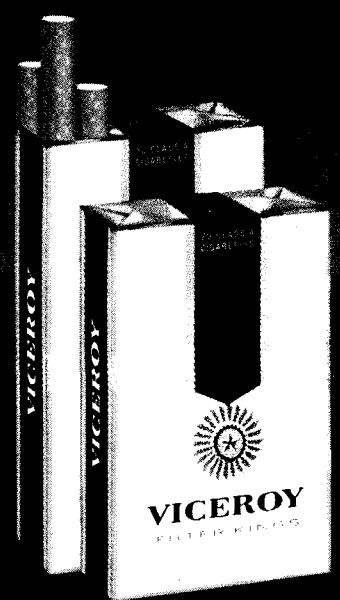
After going 212 m.p.h., he's not about to smoke a boring cigarette.





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Viceroy.
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